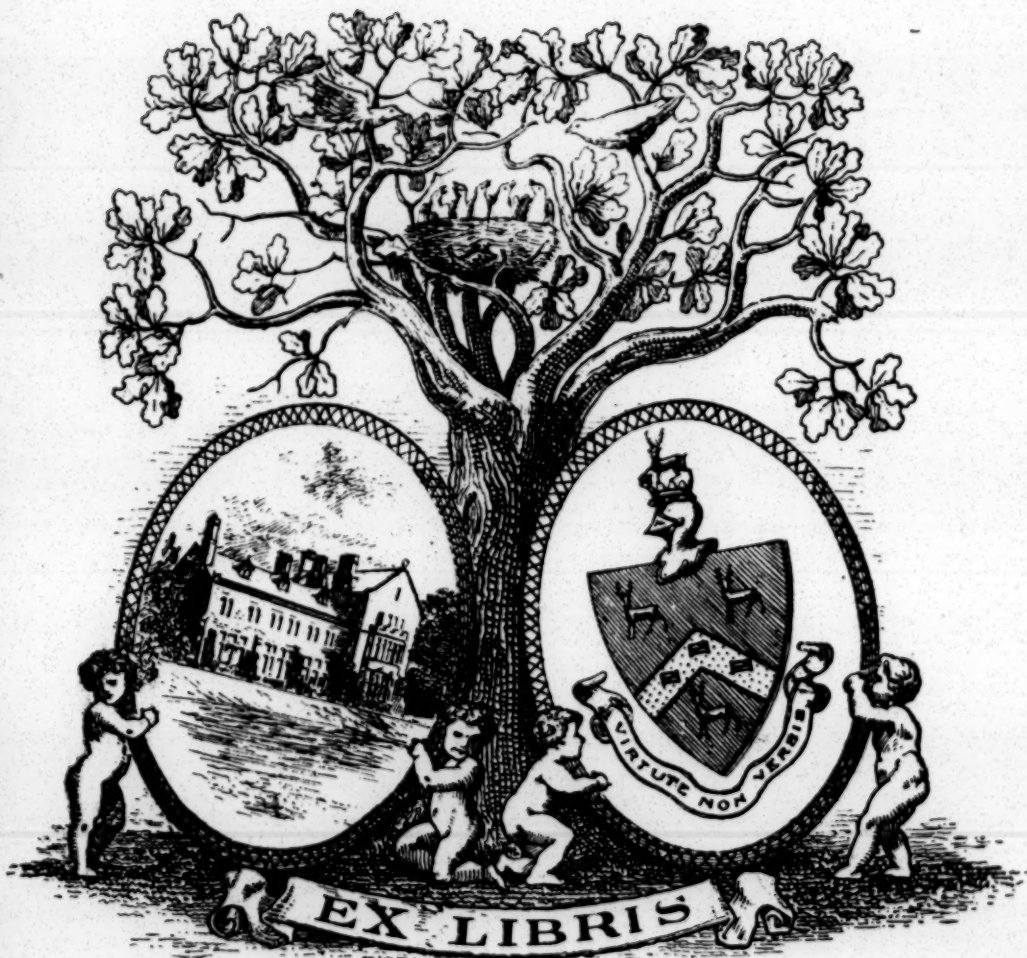


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Nicholas Robinson

NAT. MDCCCXLII.

THE TRUE
CHURCH-MAN,
AND
LOYAL SUBJECT.

Fear God, Honour the King, 1 Pet. II. 17.



L O N D O N :

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TO THE
MOST REVEREND, the RIGHT REVEREND,
and the rest of the REVEREND
CLERGY
OF THE
Church of *England*.

MOST REVEREND FATHERS, &c.

HAVING attempted to draw the noblest of Characters; and the Design being too great for my weak Pen to express and finish, I resolved by the choice of a perfect Original to make amends for the Imperfections of the Copy. Originals sure can't be wanting, where such a Reverend Body affords us a bright Cloud of living Witnesses; upon which I would fix the Eyes of my Reader, thence to furnish himself with exact Patterns of True Churchmen and Loyal Subjects. It is to the Best

The DEDICATION.

part of the Clergy, to which under God we owe the Preservation of the Best Church in the World: To those worthy Prelates, who treading in the blessed Steps of our glorious Martyrs, even in the worst of Times, and through several various Revolutions, have always been constant to themselves, steddy and unshaken in the Truth and Loyalty of their Principles; ready to own upon the Bench, what they preached in the Pulpit, and to defend in the Senate, what they asserted in the Convocation: whose Dignity hath made no change in their Opinion; but only given them an opportunity of supporting the State, which they most loyally serve, and of protecting the Church, which they so truly adorn. And may all due Acknowledgments be paid to those faithful Ministers, who, moved with a pious sense of their Duty, watch over the Souls of their respective Flocks, zealously and courageously forewarning them, as often as there is need, of the Danger, which may threaten the Church from any Quarter whatsoever, whether from Heresy, or Schism, or Superstition. 'Tis your industrious Care and Christian Resolution, O ye Rulers and Watchmen of our Jerusalem,

The DEDICATION.

*rusalem, which have timely ^{opposed} ~~disappointed~~, and
 may (I pray God) thoroughly disappoint
 the open Assaults of our professed Foes, and
 the hidden Plots of False Brethren. It is
 from the Clergy's sober Lives, as well as
 sound Doctrines, from which, with the
 Divine Assistance, we are most likely to ex-
 pect an end of Occasional Hypocrisy, Po-
 litical Contradictions, and Cowardly Pre-
 varication, the Scandals of a Christian
 Name, Vices too current and fashionable in
 this degenerate Age. 'Tis by the disinterested
 Honesty and sincere Holiness of your consci-
 entious Conversation, whereby alone Men be-
 ing convinced, that the Truest Church-man
 is the most Loyal Subject, will be induced
 henceforth never to put asunder these two Du-
 ties, which God has joined in His Word.*

*I shall not detain you, LEARNED SIRS;
 with a long Apology in behalf of this mean,
 but well-meant Performance, a private Lay-
 man's poor Mite: hoping that the Author's
 good Intentions for the Welfare of our com-
 mon Venerable Mother the Church of Eng-
 land may obtain some Excuse for the many
 Faults, which your discerning Judgment
 will soon find out, and your Charity (I
 trust)*

THE DEDICATION.

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THE DEDICATION.

trust) will impute to the shallowness of my Understanding, not to (what I would most abjure and protest against) any dishonesty of my Heart.

And now, with the profoundest Respect and Reverence, I crave your Blessings and your Prayers ; resting fully persuaded, that our Church and State can never be less in danger than when the Clergy discharge their Duty : And therefore that you may in your several Places and Stations long live and continue to be the Ornament and Preservation of Both, shall ever be the earnest Wish of,

MOST REVEREND, &c.

Your most humble, dutiful,

Sept. 8. 1710.

and obedient Servant.

T H E

THE PREFACE.

THE Author of the following Sheets is a plain Dealer : and as he has too much Honesty to speak or write any thing else but what he thinks ; so he has too much Courage to disown it by poor Shifts or base Evasions. He scorns to affront and impose upon his Reader by either shuffling with, or puzzling him through Reserves in Sense or Abbreviations in Words, which must be deciphered, before they can be reached or read. He had as lieve not write at all as not to be understood, or (more fillily than cautiously) express in short, what he thinks not fit to express at length. And it is his Opinion, that he abuses the design of Speaking or Writing, who endeavours not to be as intelligible to others, as he is to himself. As to his Principles, he knows no ends to be more entirely served than those of his Creation ; no Cause to be more zealously defended, no Interest to be more industriously promoted than that of God and his Church ; no earthly thing to be so Actively or Passively obeyed as the Higher Powers ; no better Rule of that Obedience than the Word of God ; no Plea or Pretence more to be suspected than what has the least tendency to Resistance or Rebellion ; nothing to be more kept than his Word, or watched than his Heart ; no Union to be so closely preserved as between these two ; nothing whatsoever to come in competition with the Glory of God and the Good of his Neighbour. He has no Hopes or Fears to cramp or stretch his Conscience, to force or alter his Inclinations: His
free

The P R E F A C E.

free dependence on Providence sets him above a servile one; and keeps him out of the curs'd Temptation of becoming an occasional inconsiderable Tool, and a slavish cowardly Hireling of a Party. He thinks it becomes every Christian to do as much as lies in him, to live peaceably with all Men, *if it be possible*, as the Apostle adds very well (*Rom. 12. 18.*); for there are some sort of People, such Enemies to Peace, that David might labour for it, but in vain: The Prince of Peace himself could hardly bring those *Pharisaical* Hypocrites to any quiet Temper: And the *Jewish* rebellious Crew, though he never so much pressed to render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, yet in spite of Truth accused him of *perverting the Nation* and *forbidding to give Tribute to Cæsar*. Nor did his Apostles, the Ambassadors of Reconciliation and Heralds of Peace, fare much better at the Hands of that crooked and stubborn Generation; for St. Paul, without any Cause, was impeached for *doing contrary to the Decrees of Cæsar*, for *a mover of Sedition throughout the World*, though his Doctrine was so far from countenancing Sedition in the least, that it gave the most positive and forcing Commands for Obedience to Higher Powers; unless Men, who can *put darkness for light*, are bent to wrest the sense of that great Apostle. But let no good Man, who remembers, that (notwithstanding the plausible Claims to natural Liberty) we are all of us born Subjects one way or other, be ashamed or afraid of asserting and practising the Duty of Obedience in the Face of loose and rebellious Libertines; for, however he may chance to be treated by those Scoffers of Religion and Revilers of all Power, both Divine and Human, still there is a God above, who will never fail to reward the *True Church-Man* and the *Loyal-Subject*.

THE



T H E
True Church-Man ,
A N D T H E
L O Y A L S U B J E C T .

TH E Name of the Church, in whose Communion I am, is the *Holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church*, which is so called in the *Apostles* and *Nicene Creeds*. The Faith, which I hold, and the Religion, which I profess, and whereby I hope to be saved, are *Catholick*; as is declared in the *Athanasian Creed*.

The Church is call'd *Holy*, because *sanctified by Christ to be Holy and without blemish*, Ephes. 5. 26, 27. *Apostolick*, because *built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone*; Ephes. 2. 20. and because she *continues stedfastly in the Apostles doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and of prayers*, Act. 2. 42. *Catholick*, because she *extendeth to all Times, Places, and Persons*; with whom our Saviour promises to *be even unto the end of the world*, Matth. 28. 20. who being *one body has many members*, 1 Cor. 12. 12. and *comprehendeth every particular congregation of men in every nation, such as fear God and work Righteousness*, Act. 10. 35. and *lays no other foundation than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ*, 1 Cor. 3. 11. and being the *Sheepfold of Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep*, Heb. 13. 20. and *Bishop of our souls*, 1 Pet. 2. 25. She

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accounts

accounts all those, who enter not by the door (that is by Christ, and such as are sent by him, John 10. 7. John 20. 21.) but climb up some other way, to be thieves and robbers, John. 10. 1.

The Catholick Church, which is the whole Family of Christ named in Heaven and earth, Ephes. 3. 14, 15. has under her here upon Earth many National Churches, such as the Greek Church, the Church of England, &c. to which every particular Christian ought to have a relation, living in obedience to that Church's Power and Authority, Heb. 13. 17. with this limitation, that nothing be ordained contrary to God's Word, for the Scripture cannot be broken, Joh. 10. 35. and not even an Angel from heaven can preach any other Gospel, Gal. 1. 8.

The National Church, to whose Obedience I submit my self, and in whose Communion I join, is the Church of England. But because there may be some in this Kingdom, who usurp the Name of Catholick, and others, who, tho' they have separated from the Church, yet still pretend a title and claim to it, I will farther explain my self.

1. I disclaim Communion with the Romish, Pretended-Catholick Church; because she has departed from the Apostles Doctrine, both in breaking of Bread, and of Prayers, by her Transubstantiation and Application to Saints and Angels, besides many other Errors not only in her living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith, (Artic. 19.) Besides, for the Romish Church to distinguish herself by, and assume the name of Catholick, is not only a most unchristian Pride, but a most absurd contradiction, since no particular Church can be properly stiled the Universal one.

2. I likewise disclaim Communion with those commonly call'd Presbyterians, and all others of what Sect and Denomination soever, justly term'd Schismatics, because without any just Reason they have cut themselves off from the National Church, and have laid to themselves a different Foundation from that, which Christ and his Apostles have laid, by erecting Presbytery in contradiction to Episcopacy.

3. Lastly, I can't admit the word Protestant, as a name, whereby to distinguish my National Church or Profession. This Name took its first Original from the solemn Protestation (against the Decree of the Imperial States at Spire for the Observation of the Ediēt of Worms against Innovators) made by the Elector of Saxony, Landgrave of Hesse, and others, An. 1529. April 16. Thence the Reformed beyond Sea were called Protestants; which gave ground to that common Question made them by those of the Ro-

missh

Romish Church, where was your Religion before Luther? Thence also in this Kingdom all they came to be named Protestants, who were not of the Romish Church. I think however, that, if I were asked, what Church are you of, or what Religion do you profess, and answer'd, I am a Protestant, this would be a very improper account of my self and my Faith; and all, that could be gathered from such an Answer, would be, that I were of a negative Religion, or rather of any, no matter which, so it be not Popery. But such a Latitudinarian Freedom in what concerns the Salvation of an immortal Soul, is too wide and broad for Heaven's narrow way and streight gate; it becomes none but those, who care not what becomes of their Souls hereafter, or else fancy, that they outlive not their Graves. It may recommend it self under the specious name of Charity and Moderation; but I'll be bold to say, that they who allow themselves this unlimited Liberty of thinking and choosing in Religious Matters, will undoubtedly claim the like in civil ones; and so will make no Conscience of turning and changing the Religion or Government as they list, with no other restraint but this, that the one be not Popish, the other not French. I pray God deliver the Church and State from these Men of Comprehension, who indeed enlarge themselves, but 'tis like Hell and the way thither, to devour and destroy. These Principles favour more of the Synagogue of the Libertines, than of the School of Christ; and can never be owned by good Christians, honest Men, or loyal Subjects.

The Title of *Protestants* hath been most taken up by our Sectaries at home, and by many others likewise, who, tho' openly professing the Church-Communion, yet out of a morish compliance entertain a very high value for their weak Brethren. Besides there is a farther Design to strengthen the Party, by taking upon them the same name with the Reformed Congregations abroad. Notwithstanding all this, if the Case be impartially weigh'd, a very great difference will be found between them and our *British Presbyterians*; and out of many, I'll produce this only one Instance; that the Separation of the Reformed abroad has been from an *erroneous* Church, that of ours from a *sound* and a well Reformed one; the want of Episcopacy and Episcopal Ministry among them, surrounded as they were by none but Popish Bishops, seem'd to be rather their Unhappiness than their Choice; but among ours, under Reformed Bishops, it can be nothing else but wilful-Fanaticism and schismatical Rebellion. I would not here be understood, as if I design'd to lay the heavier (and yet not more heavy than just) Charge upon our Country-men;

(rather than *Brethren*, having the same *Country*, but not the same *Church*) of the Separation, on purpose to clear and wholly acquit the *Reformed Foreigners*. It is most true, that the *beginning* of the Reformation every where laboured under, and struggled with mighty oppositions from the Pope, and his Prelacy, and from those Princes, who had submitted their Crowns to his Miter; and the *progress* thereof has in many places been interrupted and pursued with merciless Edicts and bloody Executions: When our Reformation happily begun with, was vigorously promoted by, and has ever since (except some severe intervals of Affliction from Popish Cruelty, and Fanatical Anarchy or Rebellion) exemplarily flourished under the Settlement of wholesome Laws, and the Protection of Crown'd Heads, most of whom chose to hold their Royal Right from God rather than from either Papal or Democratical Tyranny and Usurpation, rescuing their Authority as well from the *Beasts of the People*, as from *that of Rome*. However it is as true, that in sundry Places beyond Sea, the Reformation has been own'd by the Civil Magistrate; and there they might have reformed into Episcopacy, and had recourse to our Church for Episcopal Orders, as a pious and mighty Prince has lately done; and though the design has met with some discouragement from those, who have an evil Will to our *Jerusalem*, yet I hope God will speed so good a Work, which will enlarge the Borders of his Church, and make our *Sion the Joy of the whole Earth*. I must here observe, that among the *French* Protestants, who fled from the darkness of Error and the storm of Persecution, unto the glorious Light of the Gospel, and the safe Harbour of this hospitable Kingdom, some indeed could not get clear of their old *Prejudices* for Presbytery; but a very great number of them embraced Episcopal Discipline; and found their Temporal Losses for Conscience-sake, made up with a large over-plus, not only by liberal Contributions of this charitable Nation, but (which is an inestimable happiness) by an opportunity of joining themselves to the Communion of the purest and best reformed Church in the World. This I have mentioned, chiefly upon two accounts; partly, to reproach, or rather to provoke to jealousy our Sectaries, *the stiffness of whose Necks* I pity more than *the tenderness of their Consciences*; partly, to do justice to those once distressed, but now most fortunate *Refugees*. I freely own, I can't approve the appellation of *Protestant* so well as of *Church of England*; and I ever shall suspect all those, who are *high and hot Protestants*, but *low and lukewarm Church-men*; and I look upon such Men, as little caring

caring whether, or (may be) wishing, that the First might swallow up, wear away, or drive out the Second. It is observable, that the *Protestant Reformers* abroad were always very (not to say, too) busie in what concerned our Reformation at home; “ For ^a four Years after the first Book of Common-Prayer was finished, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, in the second of King *Edward*, A. D. 1548. This Book underwent another Review; wherein some Ceremonies and Usages were laid aside, and some new Prayers added at the instance of Mr. *Calvin* of *Geneva*, and *Bucer*, a foreign Divine, invited to be a Professor at *Cambridge*. Again, ^b the Use of Introits at the celebration of the Lord’s Supper being so unexceptionable, and of so great Antiquity in the Church, it is not easie to assign the Reason, why the Reviewers of King *Edward*’s Book did lay it aside in the second Edition thereof.——Whether the Protector, having been motioned to from abroad, influenc’d the Bishops to leave out the Introits to pave a way for Psalms translated in Meter. The few decent and instructive Ceremonies of our Church have been censured by some of them, as *tolerabiles ineptiæ*. I wish for their sakes, that the departing from Episcopacy might deserve so favourable a Construction; and with all humble submission conceive, that it had been ne’er the worse for either us or them, if in the beginning of the Reformation we had advised less with their Ministers, or they more with our Bishops. It has been observed by the Bishop of *Sarum*, in his Preface to the second Part of his History of the Reformation, that in *Queen Elizabeth’s* time those who in their Exile were taken with the Models beyond Seas, contending more to get the Ecclesiastical Discipline put in the Method of other Churches, (of bringing in the Laity with them into their Courts, which was liable to great exception, when they pretended a Divine Institution for those Lay-Elders) than to have it set up in any other form, that Contention begat such heat, that it took Men off from this and many other excellent designs; and whereas the Presbyters were found to have had anciently a share in the Government of the Churches, as the Bishops Council and Assistants, some of them that were of hot Tempers demanding more than their share, they were by the immoderate use of the Counterpoise kept out of any part of Ecclesiastical Discipline. And three or four Pages after. There were many learned “ and pious Divines in the beginning “ of *Queen Elizabeth’s* Reign, who being driven beyond Sea

^a Dr. Nichols’s *Comment on the Common Prayer, Preface*, p. 5.

^b Ibid. *Comment on the Collects, Epistles, and Gospel*.

“ had observed the New Models set up in *Geneva*, and other
 “ Places, for the censuring of scandalous Persons, of mixed
 “ Judicatories of the Ministers and Laity : And these re-
 “ flecting on the great looseness of Life which had been uni-
 “ versally complained of in King *Edward's* time, thought
 “ such a Platform might be an effectual way for keeping out
 “ a return of the like Disorders. There were also some few
 “ Rites reserved in this Church, that had been either used in
 “ the Primitive Church, or though brought in of later time,
 “ yet seemed of excellent Use to beget Reverence in Holy
 “ Performances : which had also this to be said for them,
 “ that the keeping these still, was done in imitation of what
 “ Christ and his Apostles did in symbolizing with the Jewish
 “ Rites, to gain the *Jews* thereby, as much as could be ; so
 “ it was judged necessary to preserve these, to let the World
 “ see, that though Corruptions were thrown out, yet the
 “ Reformers did not love to change only for change sake,
 “ when it was not otherwise needful : and this they hoped
 “ might draw in many, who otherwise would not so easily
 “ have forsaken the Roman Communion. Yet these Divine
 “ excepted to those as compliances with Popery, and though
 “ they professed no great dislike to the Ceremonies themselves,
 “ or doubt of their Lawfulness, yet were they against their
 “ continuance, upon that single account, which was indeed
 “ the chief Reason why they were continued. But all this
 “ Debate was modestly managed (*for Managers ought to be mo-*
 “ *dest*) and without violent Heat or Separation : Afterwards
 “ some of the Queen's Courtiers had an Eye to the fair Man-
 “ ners of some of the greater Sees, and being otherwise Men
 “ of ill Tempers and Lives, and probably of no Religion,
 “ would have persuaded the Queen, that nothing could unite
 “ all the Reformed Churches more effectually, as to bring
 “ the *English* Church to the Model beyond Sea ; and that it
 “ would much enrich the Crown, if she took the Revenues
 “ of Bishopricks and Cathedrals into her own hands. This
 “ made those, on the other hand, who laid to heart the true
 “ Interest of the Protestant Religion, and therefore endea-
 “ voured to preserve this Church in that strong and well mo-
 “ delled Frame to which it was brought (particularly the
 “ Lord *Burleigh*, the wisest Statesman of that Age, and per-
 “ haps of any other) study how to engage the Queen out of
 “ Interest to support it ; and they demonstrated to her, that
 “ these new Models would certainly bring with them a great
 “ Abatement of her Prerogative : Since if the concerns of Re-
 “ ligion came into Popular Hands, there would be a Power
 “ set

“ set up distinct from hers, over which she could have no
 “ Authority. This she perceived well, and therefore resolved
 “ to maintain the ancient Government of the Church; but
 “ by this means it became a matter of Interest, and so these
 “ differences which might have been more easily reconciled
 “ before, grew now into formed Factions: so that all Expe-
 “ dients were left unattempted which might have made up
 “ the Breach: And it becoming the Interest of some, to put
 “ it past reconciling, this was too easily effected. Those of
 “ the Division finding they could not carry their main De-
 “ sign, raised all the Clamours they could against the
 “ Church-men; and put in Bills into the Parliament against
 “ the Abuse of Pluralities, Non-residencies, and the Excesses
 “ of Spiritual Courts. But the Queen being possessed with
 “ this, that the Parliament’s meddling in these matters tend-
 “ ed to the lessening of her Authority, of which she was ex-
 “ tremely sensible, got all these Bills to be thrown out. If
 “ the Abuses that gave such occasion to the Mal-contented to
 “ complain, had been effectually redressed, that Party must
 “ have had little to work on: But these things furnished them
 “ with new Complaints still: The Market-Towns being
 “ also ill provided for, there were voluntary Contributions
 “ made for Lectures in these Places. The Lecturers were ge-
 “ nerally Men that over-topp’d the Incumbents in diligent
 “ and zealous preaching; and they depending on the Boun-
 “ ty of the People for their Subsistence, were engaged to fol-
 “ low the Humours of those who governed those voluntary
 “ Contributions. All these things tended to the encrease of
 “ the Party; which own’d it’s chief growth to the scanda-
 “ lous Maintenance of the Ministers of great Towns, for
 “ which Reason they were seldom of great Abilities, and to
 “ the Scandals given by the Pluralities and Non-residences
 “ of others, that were over-provided. Yet the Government
 “ in Civil Matters was so steady all the Queen’s Reign, that
 “ they could do no great thing, after she once declared her
 “ self so openly and resolutely against them. But upon
 “ King *James*’s coming to the Crown, and the Divisions that
 “ came to be afterwards in Parliament, between the too too
 “ often named Parties, for the Court and Country; and Cler-
 “ gy-men being linked (*and ’tis pity they should ever be otherwise*)
 “ to the Interests of the Crown, all those who in Civil Mat-
 “ ters opposed the designs of the Court, resolved to cherish
 “ those of the Division, under the colour of their being
 “ hearty Protestants, and that it was the Interest of the Re-
 “ formed Religion to use them well; and that all Protestants
 “ should

“ should unite: And indeed the differences between them
 “ were then so small, that if great Art had not been used to
 “ keep them asunder, they had certainly united of their own
 “ accord. But the late unhappy Wars engaged those, who
 “ before only complained of Abuses, into a formed Separation,
 “ which still continues to the great Danger and Dis-
 “ grace of the Protestant Religion. I shall not make any
 “ Observations on latter Transactions, which fall with-
 “ in all Mens view; but it is plain, that from the beginning
 “ there have been laboured designs to make Tools of the fe-
 “ veral Parties, and to make a great Breach between them;
 “ which lays us now (*this was printed in the Year 1681*) so
 “ open to our common Enemy.

By this Discourse we may learn whence to date and trace the Rise, the Progress, and Settlement of Presbytery among us; even from *Geneva* Models. The Bishop has here drawn its Picture so well in little, that I wish he had, or would draw it at full length: How well could he, who has given us the History of the growth of our *Wheat*, give us that also of the growth of our *Tares*: In what proper Colours, and in how true a light might his masterly Pensil set out ^c Archbishop *Grindal's* Charity for the Puritans, though he certainly seems to be, if he really be not, a false Brother in the ^d Account of an Historian, who is relished never the better for having painted Archbishop *Land* like what he really was, a true Lover of the Church of *England*? Then might we compare and judge, which of the two Prelates did outshine; the first ^e suspended by one of the best of Queens, the last murder'd by Rebels to the best of Kings: The one a Confessor for a new Exercise brought by him into the Church, called *Prophesying*; the other a most glorious Martyr for his Zeal to the old Service and Exercise of the Church. But to come back to the *Geneva*-Modelists: How deplorable is it to think, that the Persons, the Glory of their Times, banished for the Cause of the Gospel, should eclipse their Sufferings with the stain of Presbytery; and after having fled from Heresy bring back home the Seeds of Schism! Thus did the Papists drive our Ministers abroad to learn the Fashions of *Geneva*, as the Dissenters afterwards did our Princes to learn those of *Rome*. Thus these two Enemies of our Constitution ever make work,

^c Bishop of Norwich's Speech, p. 25.

^d Heylin's History of Presbyterianism.

^e A larger Account of his Suspension, and the Reasons of it, both true and pretended, shall be given hereafter in this Discourse.

one for the other, and, as if they had made a bargain, persecute our Church successively, and by turns.

A very plausible Argument is brought for the using this name of *Protestants*, because 'tis a sign of a charitable Union with the *Reformed* all the World over in a common *Protestation* against, and Renunciation of Popery; 'tis a *religious Confederacy* against the See of *Rome*, answering forsooth to the *Civil* one made up of Papists and Protestants against *their common Enemy*. Let us in God's name *protest* to the utmost against Popery, against whose breaking in the *Church of England* has been the main Bulwark: But let not that name (which is pretended to *unite us*) by shuffling away all distinction, betray us into a *Schism* from our best Apostolick Mother; And, because an Union is what every good Christian is bound to wish, may it be by bringing them over to us, not us to them; may we never part with the *Church of England*, till we find a better Church to join with; and this firm Resolution, I dare confidently affirm, will more effectually, than any other human *political*, or *occasional* Invention whatsoever, keep out of *England* the Romish Religion, which indeed is a dangerous and formidable Enemy; and the rather for this Reason, because often they, who make most noise and bustle to shut it out, are the (I hope *most inconsiderable*) *Tools* of, and *unthinking* (for I would still judge charitably) *Agents* for that *Party*.

Thus I have declared my Opinion concerning this word *Protestant*, together with the Use of it, and those who use it; And I have dwelt upon it the longer, because it is especially of late grown more into Fashion, than that other word *Church of England*, which is somewhat out of date; and who knows, but that, if the *name* be not maintained and kept up, the *thing* in time may become obsolete and be quite laid aside. Which God in his infinite Mercy forbid!

By the *Church of England* I mean that Church, which in *England* is founded upon Episcopacy, and hath been, still is (I thank God), and (I heartily pray) may for ever continue *established by Law*; whose Doctrine contained in its *Common-Prayers*, *Articles*, *Homilies* and *Canons*, is agreeable to the Rules of Christ and his Apostles; whose Discipline and Rites are Ancient and Primitive, and no way repugnant to God's written Word, which does equally recede from Presbyterianism on the one side, and from Popery on the other; because the first has hardly left us any Order or Ceremonies, the last has choaked us with them; the first strips our Saviour, the last arraieth him in a gorgeous Robe: The first has

an unaccountable Aversion to the Cross; to the Church, because many are built cross-wise; to the Crown, because one of its Ornaments is a Cross, and therefore somewhat allied to the Pope's treble one; to Church-baptism, because the Child's Forehead is crossed: the last pays as much, or rather more outward Worship to the Figure or Wood (if there be any left) of the Cross, than to him, who was crucified upon it: The first has rejected the true Foundation of Episcopacy; the last, tho' keeping that Foundation, yet has built upon it *Wood, Hay, Stubble* (1 Cor. 3. 12.) Heterodox Opinions contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and the concurrent sense of the earliest Fathers of the Church.

I therefore take them to be two very dangerous Extremes, and think my time much better imployed in striving to avoid them alike, than in determining, which of them is the worse. The first Fathers and glorious Martyrs of our Church wisely took care, that in the great Work of reforming, their *Moderation should be known unto all Men* (Phil. 4. 5.) They were not led with that foolish and blind Zeal, which fighteth with bare names and words; nor swayed so far with Superstition, as to take upon trust, whatever is imposed under the show of Antiquity and pretence of *traditional* Prescription; they were not offended with the ^f word Mass [that mighty scare-crow, a name more sinful and damnable to some ignorant Bigots than Sacrilege and Rebellion] nor with the ^z Ceremony of Extreme Unction, being content to clear the one from the monstrous Abuse of Transubstantiation, and the other from the Title of a Sacrament. These and several other things remained in that first Common-Prayer-Book either unchanged or reformed, tho' the same were also used in the Popish-service: and yet this could not proceed from a desire of complying with Popery, for in that same Book we find this Petition inserted in the Liturgy, *Good Lord deliver us, from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable Enormities*, which was left out afterwards by the Reviewers of that first Book: And as the last, among whom was Bishop Grindal (and it would be highly criminal to call him *False-Brother*) were not reckoned the less averse to Popery for leaving the Clause out; so the first who inserted it, could not be suspected to have any inclination to it, tho' they did not strike out some innocent things

^f Common-Prayer-Book, An. 1549. Fol. cx.

^z Ibid. Fol. cxliiii.

in use among the Papists; especially since several of them were Martyrs for the Reformation. If those learned and godly Men had with the same Fury, as some others, cut off every thing Root and Branch, which was used in the Romish Church, they had left us no Church at all: But they taught us, that to retain a wholesome ancient Custom, and to reform the Abuse of it, are not at all inconsistent. They followed St. Paul's Rule, *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good* (1 Theff. 5. 21.) and our Blessed Saviour's Example, who, when he founded the Christian Church, did not utterly destroy the Jewish one, but partly fulfilled its Law, partly reformed it from all the abuses introduced by the Jewish Rabbies, Scribes and Pharisees, rectifying all their false Interpretations of Holy Scripture (Matth. c. 5. v. 17. c. 23. v. 16, 17, to v. 23. Mark c. 7. v. 9, 10, 11, 12.) And 'tis worth^h observing, that the several parts of the Lord's Prayer are found in the Jewish Euchologues; and that our Lord reduced them into that order, as is now used all the Christian World over.

This hath been, and ought to be still the *Moderation* of the Church of *England*, to be at an equal and due distance from the two Extremes mentioned before; not (as some have of late perverted the true use and signification of this excellent word) to lean more to one of those extremes in order to fly farther from the other: and compound for their good Wishes and kind Inclinations to Presbytery by their irreconcilable aversion to Popery, so far as to hate not only what is corrupt and erroneous, and ought to be hated; but even what is found and orthodox in that Church, and ought to be retained. What is this else but, in the Apostle's phrase (Jam. 2. 4.) *to be partial in themselves, and judges of evil thoughts?* Such a sort ofⁱ partiality will be apt to beget Divisions in the Church, doubtings, waverings, staggerings in the Faith, and even Unbelief. Our holy Church therefore has avoided this Rock of partiality, for fear of *making Shipwreck concerning the Faith* (1 Tim. 1. 19.) and strictly observed that *Moderation*, call'd by the Apostle τὸ ἐμενέειν, in the utmost extent of the word: which will be plainly demonstrated by inquiring

^h See Mr. Gregory's Works. An. 1665. pag. 163.

ⁱ The word used by the Apostle is διακρίνειν: Hesych. explains διακρίνειν by ἐμπερίειν, ἐδίστασε. Our English Bible renders it to be partial in the Text of St. James. And in other places, to doubt, as Mat. 21. 21. Mark 11. 23. to waver James 1. 6. διακρίνειν τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ stagger'd through unbelief, Rom. 4. 20.

first into the original Meaning and Use of the word, next into the Practice and Behaviour of our Church in regard to that point.

First, the word ἐπεικὲς means καθῆκον, πρέπον, ἱκανόν. ἐπεικῶς (ἡμῶν) μελείως, ἥτοι Συμμέτρως. ἐπεικῆς, πρᾶϑ, μέτειϑ. (Hesych. Suid. Phavor.) In the New Testament it means (according to the Translation received in our Church) *patient*, 1 Tim. 3. 3. *gentle*, Tit. 3. 2. 1 Pet. 2. 18. And in the two first places 'tis join'd with ἀμαχϑ *no brawler*, in the last with ἀγαθὸς *good*: τὸ ἐπεικὲς *moderation*, Phil. 4. 5. ἐπέμεια *clemency*, Acts 24. 4. διὰ τὴν πραότην^{ην} καὶ ἐμεικίαν^{ην} Χριστοῦ, *by the meekness and gentleness of Christ*, 2 Cor. 10. 1. In Heathen Authors, Πρὸς τὸ ἐπεικὲς and μελείως are joined in *Thucyd.* *Demosth.* ἐπέμεια and πραότης in *Plutarch*, ἐπέμεια and χρισότης in *Aristot.* ἐπέμεια and μελειότης in *Lucian*. And 2 Maccab. c. 9. ἐπεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως. From all which places, both sacred and profane, I gather, that the word imports to keep a due, just, convenient, decent, equal and proportionable *measure*, together with a meek, patient and gentle *condescension*.

Secondly, That this *Measure* and *Condescension* have gone both hand in hand in the Practice and Behaviour of our Church, will appear from what is declared in the Preface and the Discourse of Ceremonies prefix'd to the Book of Common-Prayer, in the following words. “ It has been the “ Wisdom of the Church of *England*, ever since the first “ compiling of her Publick Liturgy, to keep the *mean* be- “ tween the two Extreams, &c. And whereas in this “ our time, the Minds of Men are so diverse, that some “ think it a great matter of Conscience to depart from a “ piece of the least of their Ceremonies, they be so addicted “ to their old Customs; and again on the other side, some “ be so new-fangled, that they would innovate all things, “ and so despise the old, that nothing can like them, but “ what is new: It was thought expedient not so much to “ have respect how to please or satisfy either of these Par- “ ties, as how to please God and profit them both. This “ was the *measure* observed by the Church of *England*; I proceed now to her *Condescension*. “ In the “ Review of the “ Common-Prayer-Book we have endeavoured to observe “ the like *moderation*, as we find to have been used in the like

* How many Reviews this Book underwent through the instances of the Protestants abroad and our Sectaries at home, you may read in Dr. Nichol's Preface to his Comment. on the Common-Prayer.

“ case in former times. And therefore of the sundry Alte-
 “ rations proposed to us, we have rejected all such, as were
 “ either of dangerous Consequence (as secretly striking at
 “ some established Doctrine or laudable Practice of the
 “ Church of *England*, or indeed of the whole Catholick
 “ Church of Christ) or else of no consequence at all, but
 “ utterly frivolous and vain. But such Alterations as were
 “ tendred to us (by what Persons, under what pretences, or
 “ to what purpose soever so tendred) as seemed to us in any
 “ degree requisite or expedient, we have willingly and of
 “ our own accord assented unto; *not enforced* so to do by any
 “ strength of Argument, convincing us of the necessity of
 “ making the said Alterations: For we are *fully persuaded in*
 “ *our Judgments* (and we here profess it to the World) that
 “ the Book, as it stood before established by Law, doth not
 “ contain in it any thing *contrary to the Word of God*, or to
 “ *sound Doctrine*, or which a *godly Man* may not with a *good*
 “ *Conscience* use and submit unto, or which is not fairly de-
 “ sensible against any that shall oppose the same, &c. This
 was the *condescension* of our Church even toward ¹ those Men,
 who under the late usurped Powers had made it a great part
 of their business to render the People disaffected to the use of
 the Liturgy, and who are very hardly brought to acknow-
 ledge themselves to have erred.

What has been alledged on this Subject, gives us to un-
 derstand, what are the bounds, what the extent of true *Mo-*
deration. It keeps on the one hand an exact *measure*, such as
 is consistent with a gentle *Condescension*: on the other, it so
condescendeth, as not to transgress the just *measures* and *bounds*,
 that is, not to strike at any establish'd Doctrine or laudable
 Practice of the whole Catholick Church.

Truly the Church of *England* never had a greater reason
 than now, for standing upon her guard, lest she be swal-
 low'd by either of those *Extremes*, from which she has been
 so careful all along to secure her self. For tho' these her
 two Foes, *Presbyterian* and *Papist*, appear to be at as much
Enmity, as *Pilate* and *Herod*, the *Pharisees* and *Herodians*; yet as
 they, when Christ was to be insnared, (*Mat.* 22. 15. *Mark.* 12.
 13.) or destroyed, (*Mark* 3. 6.) or to suffer (*Luk.* 23. 12.)
 So these, when our Church is to be ruined, lay their pri-
 vate Quarrels aside, combine, take Counsel, and *are made*
friends together, and join their Forces and Interests to pro-
 mote (as they call it) *the good old Cause*. 'Tis not yet out

of the memory of Man, since they made their advantage of a *Liberty of Conscience* to cement their *Union*, and (if Divine Providence had not miraculously interposed in our Deliverance) had in all human Probability quite overthrown our happy Establishment. Thus *Liberty* and *Union*, notwithstanding the good Face they carry, and the plausible Name they put on, when they are trusted in ill hands, change both Face and Name, become *Licentiousness* and *Faction*, and portend as dire Events to our Church and State, as *Catiline* did to *Rome*, when he animated his Junto with these two Arguments of ^m *Union* and *Liberty*.

These two Enemies of the Church, the *Sectary* and the *Papist*, act much upon the same Principle, in regard to the Civil Government; the one subjects the Magistrate to the *Pope*, the other to the *People*. Both resolve to rob him of his *Supremacy*, but they are not agreed, who shall share the Spoils; the one gives them to the *Church*, the other to the *Subjects*, or their *Representatives*. Since therefore our Church next under God owns *Allegiance* to, and looks for *Protection* from none but the *Crown*, she may very justly be said to be in danger from those, who are Enemies to it. This Consent of those our Enemies in this main Point, makes me suspect them both alike; and in spite of all their pretended hatred to one another, I can't for my life help fearing, lest the *Dissenter* should prove a *Pioneer* to make way for the *Jesuit*.

Having given an Account of the Church of *England*, and of her open professed Foes; having also declared my Zeal for the one, and my Aversion to the others: I shall now take notice of the unhappy and fatal distinction of *High* and *Low* Church among us, kept on foot, and improved by those, who according to the Saying (*Divide & impera*) can find no surer way of *usurping a power* over, than by *dividing us*. By an *High-Church-man*, I suppose to be meant a strict and rigid Observer of the Doctrines and Rites of the Church, to whose Communion he has given himself up; resolving upon no terms to part with them, unless it be to change for the better; and upon no temporal Advantage or present Emergency to do or leave undone any thing, but to the end that all may turn to the Glory of God, or Good of his Church. The Reverse of this is a *Low-Church-man*, an indifferent and careless Observer of the Doctrines and Rites

^m Sallust. Catilin. Orat. idem velle, idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Nosmetipsos vindicemus in libertatem.

of the Church ; resolving to oblige any of his Fellow-Subjects of all Persuasions (except Popery) at the Expence of that Church ; being ready to sacrifice any of that Church's Principles, if it will serve any present Turn or Revolution. Or else to give their Characters in Scripture-Expressions : An *High-Church-man* is not one of them, who are carried about with every wind of Doctrine, (Ephes. 4. 14.) ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, (2 Tim. 3. 7.) but he holdeth fast that which is good, (1 Thes. 5. 21.) zealously affected always in a good matter, (Gal. 4. 18.) earnestly contending for the Faith once delivered unto the Saints, (Jude. 3.) standing fast, and holding the Traditions, which have been taught by the Apostles, (2 Thess. 2. 15.) Yet not receiving for Doctrines the Commandments and Traditions of men, (Mark 7. 7, 8.) vigilant, (1 Pet. 5. 8.) immoveable, steadfast, (1 Cor. 15. 58.) always bawring of falling from that steadfastness by being led away with error, (2 Pet. 3. 17.) giving no offence in any thing, (2 Cor. 6. 3.) yet cutting off occasion from them which desire occasion, (2 Cor. 11. 12.) and giving place no not for an hour to any false brethren and spies, (Gal. 2. 5, 6.)

A *Low-Church-man* is one, that is lukewarm, neither hot nor cold, threaten'd by God to be spued out of his mouth, (Apoc. 3. 15, 16.) and in order to avoid this Punishment, commanded by him to be zealous and repent, (v. 19.) Men-pleaser, (Ephes. 6. 6.) Lover of this present world, (2 Tim. 4. 10.) ready to become all things to all men, not, as St. Paul, to save some, or for the Gospel sake, (1 Cor. 9. 22, 23.) but to save a Place, or for the sake of getting one ; dissembling for fear, as St. Peter did once, whom St. Paul withstood to the face, because he was to be blamed, and walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel. (Gal. 2. 11, 12, 13.) supposing gain to be godliness, from whom the Apostle commands us to withdraw our selves. (1 Tim. 6. 5.) In short, to describe them in few words ; the first is the *Church-man*, the other is no *Church-man* at all : The first is, what he appears ; the other appears, what he is not : If the first be *high*, it is to be upon the watch, and foresee afar off, whatever danger may threaten the Church ; the other lies *low*, and works under ground, to undermine the Foundation, while he is not so easily perceived. Subtily often effecteth, what force could not ; and a knavish *Fox* at home may do much more harm than ever was done by the fiercest *Lion* from abroad.

Then if we have any regard for propriety of Speech, the Epithets *High* and *Low* may have a relation to the word
Church,

Church, or to the word *Man*. *High-Church* can in strict and proper sense signifie nothing else but the Church in a *flourishing* Condition, having Kings and Queens for her nursing Fathers and Mothers: so *Low-Church* should mean the Church in a *low dejected State*, when Children of *Edom* cry, *down with it, even to the Ground*. Consequently an *High-Church-Man* must really signifie a Man, who wisheth the Church may be *high and flourish*; and a *Low-Church-Man* one, who wisheth the same to be *low and dejected*; at least *lower* by much, or (if her Foes find in their Hearts to be more merciful than ordinary) no *higher* than the Conventicle.

Before I pass farther, I'll be so impartial as to represent the *High-Church-man*, just as a late Scribler has drawn him in a Pamphlet call'd *The High-Church-Catechism*. *High for the Divine Right of Episcopacy, high for the uninterrupted Succession, high for Liturgies; so high as to observe the traditional Customs of the Church, and to believe Separation from the Church of England to be a damning Schism; so high as to be an Enemy to all Accommodation, Moderation, and Comprehension, and always to bow very low towards the Altar*. Every of these Particulars I'll examine singly.

1. The *Right of Episcopacy* is divine; for its Power is derived from God himself. God the Father sent his Son, God the Son sent the Apostles (*John* 20. 21. *Mark* 3. 14. *Matth.* 28. 19.) After the Death of *Judas*, the eleven Apostles appointed two, *Barsabas* and *Matthias*; (*Acts* 1. 13, 14, 23.) and having prayed to the Lord to shew, whether of these two he had chosen, they gave forth their Lots, and *Matthias*, upon whom the Lot fell, was numbred with the eleven Apostles, *Acts* 1. 24, 25, 26.) *Barnabas* and *Paul* were by a particular command of the Holy Ghost separated unto the Work, whereunto he had called them, and with fasting, prayers, and laying on of hands were sent away, (*Acts* 13. 2, 3.) *Paul* left *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, (*1 Tim.* 1. 3.) and *Titus* at *Crete*, (*Tit.* 1. 5.) to ordain Elders in every City, (*Tit.* 1. 5.) with a command to lay hands suddenly on no man, (*1 Tim.* 5. 22.) and a direction what sort of Men were to be ordained Bishops, (*1 Tim.* 3. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *Tit.* 1. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.) Elders, (*1 Tim.* 5. 17.) and Deacons. (*1 Tim.* 3. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.) And farther I observe, that the Bishops were taken out of the Order of Elders, from the connexion of the words (*Tit.* 1. 5, 6, 7.) whereby *St. Paul* commissioneth *Titus* to ordain Elders, if any be blameless; Then subjoins, for a Bishop must be blameless. As if he had said, since a Bishop must be blameless, the Elders

ders therefore, out of whose Rank Bishops are chosen, must be so likewise.

Here by *Elders* I would be understood to mean the same Order as *Priests*, for there is no difference between those Words but that the first in its original is English, the last a Greek; nor will I concern my self about those Men, who rather than want an *occasion of quarrelling*, will quarrel with mere words, and shew their great Zeal against, and Hatred of, Popery in nothing so much, as in raising a noise at some such terms as these, ° *Priest*, ° *Altar*, ° *Sacrifice*, which the Papists use in conjunction with other Christians, and are used even in the New Testament. I shall only at present pity their ° *blindness*, who strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel.

2. It appears from what has been quoted out of the *Acts* and St. Paul's Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that the Apostles were careful of a *Succession*; and this *Succession* has been *uninterrupted*, because I could never learn a time, when Episcopacy has wholly failed in the Christian Church: And among many others, I believe this to be an instance of the fulfilling our Saviour's promise to his Apostles, *I am with you always, even unto the end of the World* (Matth. 28. 20.)

Besides, to be for the *Divine Right of Episcopacy* and its *uninterrupted Succession*, is not only the Duty of a *High*, but of every Church of England Man, who owneth the Book of Common-Prayers; and he that does not, can't pretend to that name. For it is evident, that the Orders of the Church are by divine Appointment, from the two Prayers in the Ember-weeks: and that from the Apostle's time there have been these orders of *Ministers in Christ's Church*, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, is affirmed in the Preface to the Form of Ordination.

3. None (I think) can call himself a Christian but must be *high* for *Liturgies*, that is, in the word's original signification among sacred Writers ° *the publick Service of God*, and more particularly, ° *the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, ° some-

° Skinn. Etymolog.

° Apocal. c. 1. v. 16.

° Heb. 13. 10.

° Rom. 12. 1.

° Matth. 23. 24.

° See Gr. Thes. Henr. Steph.

° See Luke 1. 23. Heb. 8. 6. and 9. 21.

° 2 Cor. 9. 12. Phil. 2. 30.

Acts 13. 2, 3. *Λειτουργεῖν* is joined with *ὑψεύειν* and *προσδύναμι*. Heb. 10. 11. it is spoken of the Priest of the Law, and joined with *προσφέρειν θυσίας*. Heb. 1. 7. the Angels are called *λατρεῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ*. and 8. 2. our Saviour *ἡ ἀγία λειτουργία*. Rom. 15. 16. St. Paul calls himself *λατρεῖν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκτελεσάμενος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

times the *giving of Alms*. I know not why, according to these senses of the word, it should be a fault to be *high for Liturgies*. And indeed after a strict examination of all the places, where it is used in the New Testament, and their several acceptations, I can find none, which the Revilers of our Church can be offended with, unless ^w one, where St. Paul called the Civil Supreme Magistrates *ἀστυνόμοι καὶ ἑσπεῖς*; and these Men are afraid lest they who are *high for Liturgies*, will be also *high for an absolute submission to Kings*.

If by *Liturgies* is meant a *Form of Prayers* in opposition to *Extemporary ones*, every true Church of England-man must be a *High-Church-man*; and if a due comparison be made between those sudden, unpremeditated, and crude effusions of Words, proceeding more from the *heat* of the *Head* than that of the *Heart*, standing more in need to be *pardon'd* than *hear'd*, more usurping a *bold familiarity* with, than using an *humble respect* towards God, resembling more the *Heathen Babelology*, which our Saviour forbids us to imitate, (Matth. 6. 7.) than the *Dictates of the Holy Ghost*, to whom they are impudently ascribed; and the well-digested Prayers of our Church: It is impossible for any one to prefer the first to the last, without the just imputation of being weak, moderate and indifferent, not so much in *Zeal* as in *Sense* and *Understanding*; as low in *Religion* as in *Church*, and having little or nothing of either: or at the most, hardly more than what mere *Nature* has taught him. The Church of *England* in this is no ways different from the Reformed in *France*, *Geneva*, &c. who have set Forms of Ecclesiastical Prayers to be used for every Sunday, for accidental Week-days set apart for a Fast or Humiliation, for the administration of Baptism, and the Holy Supper, for the Celebration of Matrimony, and the visitation of the Sick; together with suitable Directions (answerable to our Rubrick) for the Minister to observe.

Thus our Church has provided her Children with Forms of Prayers for all Occasions, *Primitive* in their *Simplicity*, *Orthodox* in their *Petitions*, *sound* in their *Matter*, *pathetical* in their *Style*, *comprehensive* in their *Shortness*, *humble* in their *Expression*, *pertinent* and *coherent* in their *Sense* and *Connexion*, *pious* in their *Applications to God*, *charitable* in their *Relations to Men*; neither *pretending* to *instruct* our *Creator*, nor *reviling* our *Fellow-creatures*: Such Prayers can't miss of reaching the Throne of Grace, if a devout and right dis-

position of Mind be not wanting in him, who puts them up. In these Prayers both Priest and People jointly bear a part; which can't be done among the Papists or Sectaries. Tho' the Service of the Church of *Rome* were never so Primitive and Orthodox, yet the People can't join with the Priest, because the Language is not understood by them: As for the Preachers of the Sectaries; they conceiving their Prayers on a sudden, and without any previous Thoughts, know not themselves, what they shall say, before they utter it; and how can their Congregation know, what they know not themselves? How is it then possible for the People to pray with the *Spirit*, and the *Understanding* also (according to St. *Paul's* Rule, 1 Cor. 14. 15.), when they either *understand* not, what the Minister *said*; or *know* not, what he *will* say.

It is therefore highly becoming every Church of England-man to be thankful to God for our excellent Liturgy: and his Thanks will be much better paid by *making* a due use of, than by *picking holes* in it; the latter may perhaps make a *show* of more *Learning*, and in the end betray more *Ignorance*; but the first discovers more of *Devotion*; the latter may at first sight seem a better *Critick*, the first is the better *Christian*; the one busieth his Head in *improving*, and (if possible) *inforcing* our Discipline, [and yet by the bye I fancy it wants more to be *inforced* at present than *improved*] in *reviewing* and *enlarging* our Liturgy, by *correcting* of some things, by *adding* of others, by leaving out a few *Ceremonies* confess'd to be indifferent in their *Natures*, as *indifferent* in their *Usage*: the other *acquiesceth* in, and is *submissive* to our Discipline, striving more to *improve* himself by, than to *improve* it; *reviews* and *corrects* his *Life* more than our *Liturgy*; *practises* what is in't, instead of *adding* to't; *admires* and *retains* our *Ceremonies* the more, because they are so *few*; thinketh nothing *indifferent* in its *Nature*, which is *instructing* (as all our *few Ceremonies* are), or in its *usage*, which is (as those *Ceremonies* are) *commanded* to be used, by the Authority and Power of the Church, which (Article 20.) *has Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies*. How far *neccessary* is the *Observation* of the *Ceremonies* to those who *make a Scruple* of them, I shall not make it my business to examine, but leave it to the Church to decide; yet in the mean time I think that from Article 34, which teaches

* See the Bishop of Lincoln's Speech, p. 5.

† Bishop of Lincoln's Speech, p. 5.

me, that it is not necessary that Ceremonies be in all places one, I may as strongly infer that it is necessary there be some; and I learn from the same Article, that if I (who am a Churchman) should in my private Judgment break any Ceremony ordained by common Authority, I should be guilty of offending against the common Order of the Church, hurting the Authority of the Magistrate, and wounding the Consciences of the weak Brethren. Then to give over the use of our few Ceremonies, till our scrupling Brethren ² should be able to overcome either their Weaknesses or Prejudices, and be willing to comply with them, is no more or less than to abolish them quite; for if, after so many Reviews already made of our Service since the Reformation; so many Alterations of Ceremonies, Prayers, &c. since the first Edition of the Common-Prayer, An. 1549. in order to comply with Weaknesses or Prejudices, these Men of Prejudice more than Weakness have been ne'er the more overcome or complying, 'tis very improbable, that at this time of day Compliance would win them over, when their Party is so considerably strengthened and reinforced by some Recruits of several false Brethren; and besides 'tis very unlikely, that, if all or some of our few Ceremonies are given over, till they be willing to comply, they should ever be brought into use again; since those Men are not only ready to gain ground of us, but most obstinately resolved never to quit it. As there is a natural relation between Prejudice and the Obstinate, no less than between the Race and the Swift, the Battel and the Strong; so there is as natural disproportion between Compliance and the Obstinate, Humility and the proud or self-conceited, no less than between God's Favour and the Impenitent. I think it therefore much easier to unite that Relation and that Disproportion in one Sentence, than to reconcile them in their Sense or Tendency one to the other.

A Right-reverend * Prelate in his Speech lately printed has informed us, how our present Liturgy may be reviewed: as for Example, if some new Canons were added for Reformation of Manners, &c. if a Passage or two, capable of a just Defence, yet seeming harsh to some of our own Communion, were either left at liberty to be omitted altogether in such Cases, or so qualified as to remove all exception, &c. if such Collects, not yet adapted to the Festivals or Gospels to which they belong, were made more full and apposite to both: if a greater variety of

* Bishop of Lincoln's Speech, p. 5.

* Lincoln, p. 6, 7.

Prayers, Psalms, and Lessons were appointed by Authority, for the Visitation of the Sick, instead of Compositions of private persons, now necessarily to be used: if new Forms were composed for the Use of Prisoners for Debt or Crimes: for the greater Solemnity of receiving Profelytes into our Church; of reconciling Penitents to it; and of casting notorious Offenders out of it. I shall here crave leave with all Humility due to one of the Fathers of our Church, and of the Peers of our Realm, to offer modestly some Considerations concerning the foregoing Particulars. The Reformation of Manners is very largely provided for in the 109th Canon against notorious Crimes and Scandals, which are to be punished by the Severity of the Laws according to their deserts; and notorious Offenders not to be admitted to the holy Communion, till they be reformed: and the Information against them to be made by the Church-Wardens in their Presentments to their Ordinaries. This Canon, if faithfully executed, seems to be sufficient, even without all the formal Zeal of those Societies in and about London, which are more liable to be reformed than able to reform. Besides a more constant Administration of the Lord's Supper, which by the Rubrick of our Church is directed to be celebrated^b not only every Sunday and Holy-day, but also every Day, would save the trouble of making, and conduce towards the Reformation of Manners (may be) as effectually as any new Canon whatsoever.

It is most certain, that a^c daily Communion was used in the Primitive Church; and such a Practice now in ours (besides that it is by our very Service allowed and supposed) would have a good influence upon our Lives; and on the one side take away from the Papists the occasion of boasting their daily Mass, on the other win the Sectaries, when they saw our Church administer every day to the Faithful that spiritual Food, which they in their Congregations give not so frequently.

If one Passage or two be in some Cases left at liberty to be omitted, the same liberty (I suppose) will be left of using it; and if upon the grant of that liberty, some Ministers use it, and others leave it out; will not this be a breach

^b Bishop Beveridge of constant Communion, p. 62. Ann. 1703.

^c Augustin. Meditar. cap. 14. Gratiar tibi ago pro sacro sancto & vivifico mysterio corporis & sanguinis ejus, quo quotidie in Ecclesiâ tua pascimur & potamur, abluimur & sanctificamur, & unius summæ divinitatis participes efficimur,

of that Uniformity, which the Church is and has been ever so careful to observe?

I wish I were shewed but one particular Collect, which is not adapted to its Festival, or Gospel, or (the Bishop ought to have added also) Epistle. Some Collects are suited to the Festival only, as that for St. *Bartholomew's*; some to the Gospel, as that for St. *Andrew's*; some to the Epistle, as for the second *Sunday in Advent*, and *Quinquagesima*; some to all three, as for St. *Michael's*; some Collects have besides some reference also to one of the Lessons appointed for the Day, or to some other Place of Scripture parallel or relating to it; as in the Collect for St. *Peter's* these words [*and commandest him earnestly to feed thy Flock*] refers to *John* 21. 15, 16, 17. The Collects are all of them suited to the whole, or some part of the Service of the Day; the Proof of which together with other useful Observations on the most pious and excellent Offices of our Church will be the Subject of a much longer Discourse.

Again the Collect, though it should not relate to any of the Lessons, Epistles or Gospel for the Day, yet it may have a relation to the time of the Year, when it is appointed to be read. For the Wisdom of our Church is admirable in her distribution of the Year, and allotting to every Season duties fit for a Christian to exercise himself in; so that her Calendar may be reckoned the best view of a Christian Life. The interval between the first Sunday in *Advent* and *Christmas* is set apart for our preparation to receive our Saviour; to which the Collects having a particular respect beg for *Grace to put on the Armour of Light, to read the Holy Scriptures, to profit by the Ministry of God's Messengers and Stewards of his Mysteries*; and for God's Assistance through this whole Preparation. The second interval between *Epiphany* and *Lent* is designed chiefly for our Christian Exercise and Warfare; and so the Collects beg for *Grace, Peace, Help and Defence, Strength and Protection, Reliance on God's Might, the Destruction of the Works of the Devil our spiritual Enemy, for divine Power against all Adversities, and Charity the Bond of Peace and of all Vertues*. The third interval between *Lent* and *Easter* is intended for Humiliation and Repentance; and in the pursuance of this the Collects implore for *new and contrite Hearts, the use of Abstinence to subdue the Flesh, for the keeping of our Bodies and Souls from Adversities and evil Thoughts, the stretching forth of God's Right Hand, the Comfort and Relief of his Grace, his Government and Preservation, his Mercy that we may follow the Example of our Saviour's Patience and Humility*.
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The fourth interval is between *Easter* and *Ascension*, to be spent in such Duties, as become those who are risen with Christ; and the Collects direct us, to put away the *Leaven of Malice and Wickedness*, to follow the blessed Steps of *Christ's Life*, to eschew things that are contrary to our Profession and follow what is agreeable to it, to have our Hearts fixed where true joys are to be found, and to beg God's Inspiration to think and perform what is good. The fifth and last interval is between *Trinity* and *Advent*, the longest of all; and as from the first to this the Church has laid before us the chief Articles of our Creed, our Saviour's Birth, Life, and Death; his Incarnation, Circumcision, Manifestation, Temptation, Sufferings, Crucifixion, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, Mission of the Holy-Ghost; and last of all, comprised the whole Creed in this Epitome, *The Confession of a true Faith in acknowledging the Trinity and worshipping the Unity*; now she calls upon us for the Practice and Exercise of all those Christian Vertues and good Works, which are the Fruits of a sound Faith; and consequently the Collects teach us to put up our Prayers to God to help us in keeping his Commandments, to bring us up in his steadfast Fear and Love, to assist us with his mighty Aid, to encrease and multiply his Mercy upon us, to order the course of this World peaceably for the quietness of his Church, for Love towards him, the increase of true Religion, the removal of all hurtful things, the Assistance of his Spirit in thinking and doing what is right, and asking things pleasing to him, a due measure of his grace, the abundance of his Mercy in giving and forgiving, faithfulness in the discharge of our Service, the increase of Faith, Hope and Charity, support in our Frailties, continual pity to cleanse and preserve his Church, his preventing and following Grace, to withstand the Temptations of the World, the Flesh and the Devil, the Direction of the Holy Spirit, a ready cheerfulness to our Duty both in Body and Soul, Pardon and Peace, devout Service, the obtaining effectually of what we faithfully ask, the Absolution from our Offences,; and, that in the close of this interval all may be comprehended in one, a plenteous bringing forth of the Fruit of good Works, and a plenteous Reward for the same. Then the Church intermixes all along the Festivals of the Apostles and Evangelists with suitable Collects, that we being compassed about with that Cloud of Witnesses, and withal looking unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of our Faith, may lay aside every weight of Sin, and run with Patience the Race that is set before us. I have here given a short Specimen of the annual Collects of our Church, and shewn that the Matter of every one is most pertinent to the Duties, which each space of the Eccle-

fiastical Calendar requireth. And if it be objected, that some of those Collects seem to have the same end in the subject of their Petitions; I answer, That it does but seem so; and that a serious and pious Person will find, that there are not two Collects, let them at first sight appear never so much the same, but that the one differs from the other enough to free our Service from the imputation of vain Repetitions: And besides, though the same Duty was inculcated or Grace begg'd at two distant times, yet the human Frailty and forgetfulness of our weak Nature would clear the repetition from Tautology and Vanity.

The Bishop desires a greater variety of Psalms, Prayers, and Lessons in the Visitation of the Sick, instead of the compositions of private Persons. Now the Church has appointed one Psalm for that Office; and she appointeth no more for any of those accidental Offices, except on that for Burial, where two are inserted, whereof one or both are to be read. She has distinguished those Offices from the daily ones, as in many other things, so in this, that they have no first and second Lessons; but several have Gospels, or Epistles: As the first Office at our entring into the World, and the last at our going out, the Baptism, and the Burial. Then because 'tis a matter of the greatest Importance to prepare sick Persons for their latter End, the Church has taken a most particular care to enlarge and supply that Service with a greater number of Devotions, earnest Exhortations, examination of Faith, a special Confession and Absolution, Psalm, Communion with Collect, Epistle and Gospel; and so 'tis one of the longest of the accidental Offices; and if any would have a longer, let him know, that our Church seems to study brevity, and will appear to the devout Examiner to contain and speak more in five words, than any the most long-winded Babler in ten Thousand. If there lies any Objection to any Prayers or Exhortations in the Visitation of the Sick, because they are the Compositions of Men, the same Objection will lie against other such Compositions also scatter'd in the Common-Prayer-Book; as the three Exhortations or Discourses in the Communion-Service, those in Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Burial, Churching, Communion. Besides most of them, though the Compositions of Men, yet are taken out of, and delivered in Scripture-Word and Phrase: Again, though they have been compiled by *private* Men, yet they are stamp'd with the signature of *publick* Authority: And if whatever is the Composition of
Men

Men must be struck out of our Service, I'll leave to any sensible Person to guess, what that Service will come to.

My Lord of *Lincoln* wanteth a new Form for Prisoners; but the Church thinks not fit to appoint a particular Office for every sort or condition of Men, but has a general Prayer and Thanksgiving for all, directing withal in the Rubric, a special mention of such as desire the Prayers or Thanksgivings of the Congregation. Besides, the Litany hath six Petitions, and the Visitation of the Sick two or three Prayers, which contain the several Afflictions both of Body and Mind (and that of Prisoners in particular) which are incident to Human Nature. If a particular Form was to be appointed for every single State, which Men can be imagined to labour under, there would be no end, and our Book of Common-Prayers would out-swell the Missals and Breviaries of the Church of *Rome*. Besides, I would engage to make out, that a Minister well versed and read in that Book, could not want Prayers, Psalms, and pieces of Scripture suitable to any occasion whatsoever, without having recourse to any other Study of his own, but only to gather it out of the several places, where they may be found.

Indeed a Form for the *more solemn receiving of Profelytes* (I own) might redound much to the honour of our Church and Discipline; though for such Profelytes, who have either not at all, or not rightly been initiated, a provision is already made in the *Baptism of those of riper Years*, and for those, who have duly been baptized, they may be received into our Church by the Admission of them to the Sacrament of the Altar. Moreover, I fancy such a Form (tho' at the same time I think that ought to be no bar against it) would not please the Consciences of the *weak dissenting Brethren*, when our Orders all along have been such a stumbling Block to them, and the main Reason of their not conforming. If therefore the *ordaining* of them, which is *absolutely necessary*, and without which *Preaching and Ministering the Sacraments* are declared *unlawful* by the twenty third Article, offendeth them; how would they get over, and not clamour against a *publick Form of receiving them into the Church*, as a proof and acknowledgment, that they had been *without* it before? How would they object, that such a thing had in it more *Solemnity* than *Necessity*? More of *Severity* than *Charity*? To be put upon the same level with other Profelytes, nay Papiſts themselves, this would

gaul them too much, and make the Breach wider, instead of closing it up; this could never be acceptable to that Spirit of *Pride*, which is almost inseparable from that of *Schism*; unless perhaps this severity were mitigated by having a Form proper for them, and distinct from all the rest: And if for them, why might not the Papists expect a distinct one also, not to be put on the same foot with a Jew, Mahometan, or Heathen: And why not then a distinct one too, for every distinct Class of Profelytes? Thus instead of a *Form*, we should have *many* to clog our Service-Book; the *shortness* and *easiness* of which our first Reformers had chiefly in their Eye; as appears from these words in the *Preface concerning the Service of the Church*; *The Order for Prayers is more commodious both for the shortness thereof, and for the plainness of the Order, and for that the Rules be few and easie.* ^d *Farthermore the Curates shall need none other Books for their publick Service but this Book and the Bible: By the means whereof the People shall not be at so great Charge for Books, as in time past they have been.* But still I mean not by my long insisting upon this, that any stop should be put to the better securing and enforcing the Discipline of our Church, from a fond or base fear of displeasing any Schismatick whatsoever, many of which sort of People are more *stubborn* than *tender*, and had rather *break* than *bow*. It is not for nothing that our Litany has placed *Heresy*, *Schism*, and *Hardness of Heart* so near one another, as it were to signify that there is but a small distance between the two first, and that both of them mostly proceed from the third. Again, 'tis the best piece of Service and Charity to the Schismaticks, to *cure their wound not slightly*, as the false Prophets, of whom Jeremy (c. 6. v. 13.) complains, that *they had healed the hurt of the daughter of his people slightly, saying, peace, peace, where there is no peace.* Let them therefore be made to understand the danger of Schism, that they may repent, and return to the Bosom of the Church.

Lastly, Forms for *reconciling of Penitents* and *casting out notorious Offenders* are owned as a godly Discipline used in the *Primitive Church*, instead of which our Church has at the beginning of *Lent* ordered the Office of Commination, *until the said Discipline may be restored again, which is much to be wished*; as is declared in the Preface to that Office. And therefore, because the Church is so plain and express in this

^d Common-Prayer, Anno 1549.

particular, I think that such a Form is the *only* or at least the most *necessary* one among all those, which the Bishop has mentioned. This Bishop, who has so industriously reckon'd up what he thought wanting in our Service, omits, what a ^c learned Man has taken notice of, viz. *That if our Liturgy had a set Form for a Consecration of Places, as it has of Persons, perhaps it would be never the less perfect.* This good Man's most commendable Zeal does not (as our *moderate* Men) consult the squeamishness of the Dissenters Consciences; whose depraved Taste can hardly relish the Consecration of Persons, and would much less that of Things; and who having been so clamorous against our daily Forms, could never brook with silence the addition of such an accidental one; especially, when they by their stubbornness have rather put us upon the necessity of asserting and keeping up our ancient Places and Rites of Worship, than by their compliance of building and adding new ones.

I can't forbear here to wonder at the reason, why our Church, which in the Litany, that most pious and earnest Supplication, prayeth to be delivered from *Schism* no less than *Heresy*, has in her last Collect for *Good-Friday* (a charitable and fervent Prayer in behalf of the Enemies of Christianity and Orthodoxy, after the Example of her dying Saviour pleading on his Cross for his Murtherers) left out the *Schismaticks*, when that Prayer, used also in the *Romish* Church, had them inserted. Far be it from me to imagine, that the Church of *England* has less Aversion to *Schism*, or less Charity for *Schismaticks*, and their *Conversion*, than the *Romish*. I had been prompted to believe that our Church had left out the word *Schismaticks* through a wonderful Tenderness for those, who are apter by much to *plead* than to *make a Conscience* of any thing; if I had not seen *Schism* in her Litany. Shall we pray God to deliver us from *Schism*, and not to have mercy on the *Schismatick*; to save us from the *Sin*, and not to save the *Sinner*? Besides it seems to be inconsistent with the Wisdom as well as the Goodness of the same Church to reckon *Schism* among *Sins*, and yet to be afraid to call him *Schismatick*, who is guilty of it, and to pray for him as such. Such a fond *Indulgence* and ill-placed *Condescension* would but harden the Sinner, and make him persevere in his Sin. However I don't doubt but that our good and wise

Reformers had reason for what they did, which it becomes me more to *believe* than to *suspect*. And therefore if I have erred in this Remark, I beg pardon; desiring ever to submit with the *highest*, or (if this word offends any moderate Man) the *lowest* and *profoundest* Humility and Obedience to all the Rules now established by the Authority of the Church; and resolving to pay the same Submission to any other *Rites and Ceremonies not repugnant to the Word of God*, which hereafter shall at any time be ordained by the same Authority; as I am bound by the 34th Article.

Thus far (and farther than I designed) have I been carried to declare my self *High for Liturgies*. I come now to,

4. The *Traditional Customs of the Church*, which I am so high as to think my self obliged to observe, as a Member of the Church of *England* ought to do by the forementioned 34th Article; and as long as those Customs are not repugnant to God's Word, I see no reason, why they may not be observed; and if any Man seem to be contentious, (let St. Paul answer him, 1 Cor. 11. 16.) we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God; (c. 14. v. 40.) let all things be done decently and in order.

5. Whoever owns the Church of *England* to be True and Orthodox, and better than those Congregations, who dissent from it, must (whether *High* or *Low* no matter, so he be a Church-man in outward Profession) also own, that Separation from that Church is *Schism*; for what is *Schism* else but Separation, or Division? (as *σχίσμα* is render'd, John 7. 43. and 9. 16. and 10. 19. &c.) If *Schism* be not a Sin, how comes our Church in her Litany to rank it among the black Catalogue of *Sedition, Privy Conspiracy, Rebellion, False Doctrine, Heresy, Contempt of God's Word and Commandments*, and beg to be delivered as much from it as from them? All these Sins seem to have a natural relation between them, as for Example, and to mention no more, *Sedition* seldom leadeth the Van, but *Schism* or *Heresy* brings up the Rear: This Nation has more than once had severe Trials of this Truth, having hardly ever been torn with *Rebellion*, without a *Schismatick* or *Papist*, or both at the Head or Tail of it. If then *Schism* be a Sin, and such a heinous one; and every Sin deserveth, and if wilfully continued in, and unrepented of, will have *Death*

^f *Altus and profundus* signifie the same.

and Damnation for its *Wages*, (Rom. 6. 23.); *Schism* wilfully continued in, and unrepented of, must by consequence be *damning* too. Therefore St. Paul did so earnestly, (1 Cor. 1. 10.) beseech his Corinthians by the name of Jesus Christ, that there might not be Divisions (*ῥισµαῖα*. Marg. *Schisms*) among them, and (c. 12. v. 25.) that there should be no *Schism*, (Marg. *Division*) in the body; but that they should be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.

6. None can be a Church-man, and be a Friend to any *Accommodation*, which may any way wound the Church; to a *Comprehension*, which will let in her Enemies into her Bowels; and to the *Moderation*, falsely so called, of those who are never moderate, but when curbed; and always high and insulting, when tolerated and encouraged.

7. I am not able to find out any Fault of bowing very low towards the Altar, nor why I should dislike an High-Church-man for conforming himself to that Custom. If there be any place of the Church dedicated to an holier Use than any other, certainly it must be, where we join our selves in a stricter Communion with our Lord, by receiving his Body and Blood. None can be so stupid as to imagine any Adoration of the Altar, or any thing upon it, to be meant by bowing towards it; let such a one be a downright Quaker, and never pull off his Hat in the Church, for fear of paying thereby a Religious Reverence to the Pillars. When David (Psal. 99. v. 5.) bids us fall down before God's footstool, and (Psal. 132. v. 7.) to go in to his Tabernacle, and fall low on our knees before his footstool, he means no Adoration but to the Holy one, whose Tabernacle and Footstool it is. But some Men, who are low as to the Church and high in their own Conceits, care not how low the Table of the Lord (for the word Altar has too high an Original to be liked by them) be placed and esteemed, so the Pulpit of the Preacher be raised high enough. Besides they pretend to fall out with the place, where the Altar is set, the East, tho' it puts us in remembrance of the tender mercy of our God, whereby the Day-spring from on high has visited us, (Luk. 1. 78. ἀνατολή ἡ ἡμέρα); of him, who by a Star in the East, (Matth. 2. 3.) was manifested to the Gentiles; of the Angel ascending from the East with the Seal of the living God (Apoc. 7. 2.) Thus they walk retrograde to every thing, that looks decent, and Primitive; for St. Basil in the 23d Chapter of his Book to

to *Amphilochius* concerning the Holy Ghost, reckons this among the Apostles's Traditions not written, τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τελεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ προσερχεσθαι, to pray with the face towards the East.

I have now at last gone through the several parts of the Character, which that Pamphleteer gives of an *High-Church-man* in his Catechism; and after a serious view of the Picture he has drawn for him, I think he hath done him more right, than I fancy he at first designed; for instead of being represented odiously, I see no feature in't, but what bears a due proportion to the strictest Rules of Christianity. So may always the Enemies of our Church, even against their wills, bear witness to the Truth; and, while they strive maliciously to accuse, stand themselves convicted and condemned.

This trifling Scribler, which I mentioned just now, is so impudent or ignorant as to call the ^a Differences between the Dissenters and the Church trifling, on purpose to cast an Odium upon the Church. For if those Differences be trifling, the consequence will be, that each side is to be blamed alike for standing at a distance from one another about Trifles; and that the Church of England is indeed acted by the ^b furious Zeal and persecuting Temper of those he calls *High-Church-Priests*, if she was and is still so uncharitable as to keep too great a part of this Kingdom from her Communion for the sake of maintaining Trifles. I scorn to engage with this pitiful ignorant Tool of his Party; else I could here produce some of those Differences, and leave every sober Reader to judge of the weight of them. I am sure, that he deserves Thanks as little from the Dissenting Ministers as from the Church; for he made but very sorry Fools of them, to stand thus in their own light, and during so many Years upon the account of these so indifferent Trifles, to be for their Livelihood beholden to the Contributions (tho' ne'er so liberal) of private Meetings, and become Slaves to their Humors, and so let the Clergy of the Church enjoy the settled Benefices, when they might (were it not for a Trifle) come in for their share; and the same Folly will become chargeable upon several others of the Dissenters also, who are not Preachers, Men of Parts, Birth, and Fortunes sufficient to recommend them to Civil Places of Trust and Profit, were it not

^a Preface of the *High-Church-Catechism*, p. 3.

^b Ibid.

for those self-same *Trifles*. And yet this little puny Writer thinks to have done a considerable Piece of Service to (ⁱ as he terms it) *our excellent Church*, in patching up his *High-Church-Catechism*. What that *Church* is, which he names *his* and *excellent*, I can't guess ; I know of no other Church in this Kingdom, but one which is the *Church of England* ; I will not add *establiſh'd*, because in some place Presbyterianism may claim the benefit of a *late Establiſhment*, yet not the *ancient Title* of a *Church*. Therefore since this Man appears not by his Sentiments to be of the *Church of England*, I fancy he has a *Church* yet to seek ; and till he has found one, 'tis a very improper Task for him to pretend to write *Catechisms* ; and every body may see how unfit he's for it by his *lame* coming off with this doubtful Essay upon one. In the mean time I advise him as a Friend, as soon as he has pitched upon some *Church*, to learn first the *Catechism* and *Articles* of that Church, to qualify him better to write of *both*, if his Talent lies that way. I can't indeed admire so much the Ability of his Talent, as the Weakness of his Malice ; and tho' the latter be *hellish* enough (to use his own word) yet the former hinders it from being *dangerous* : And if our Church was to meet with no other and more formidable Enemies to encounter than such as he, I'd have him not only *impeached for a Criminal*, but *begg'd* (unless his *Estate* were as worthless as his *Brains*) *for an Idiot*, whoever offer'd to affirm, that she is, not in a *great and imminent*, but in *any danger* at all.

This Man has made up his *Catechism* out of *broken Sentences* and *distant Passages* conjoined of several Modern Writers, mostly Dr. *Hickes* and Mr. *Lesley*. And what is all that Rhapsody of his to the purpose ? Since I dare assure him, that no *High-Church-man* can ever be brought so low as to need so poor an assistance as his, toward the providing him with *Catechism* and *Articles*, while the Church of *England* hath helped him to both, which I defy him and all his Tribe to gainsay or disprove : For the Truth of our Church-Doctrines is founded upon the Rock of God's Word ; and therefore all the Sons of Lies with all the Power of their Father can no more reach and pull it down, than a parcel of curs'd Curs the Moon with their barking. What right he has done to the Authors, out of whose

Writings he has heaped up his incoherent independent Stuff, I don't know, for I have read none of them; except the Reverend Dr. *South's* Sermons; a Man of great Learning, whose clear Thoughts, adequate and significant Words, easy Expressions, with cogent Arguments, shew him the Master of whatever Subject he undertaketh; whose sober Life, pious Conversation, generous Charity, unblemished Honesty, and steady Adherence to true and Orthodox Principles, make him an Ornament to the School which bred him, the University, whose Orator he was, and chiefly to the Church, to whose Communion he faithfully sticks, and whose Honours he chose rather to deserve than enjoy. He has published three Volumes of Sermons, twelve in each, and might no doubt have obliged the religious and learned Readers with many more, were it not that of all things he is the least Admirer of his own Parts and Performance, and (such is his *Modesty*) never thinks little, but when he humbly thinks of himself. Through all this great Man's Sermons there runs not only a Vein of Wit, but there shines a Light of sound Doctrine; but above all, and (what gauls most our Low-Church-men) an earnest and hearty Zeal (I can't use better than his own Words) ^k to assert the Rights and Constitutions of our excellently Reformed Church, which of late we so often hear reproached (in the modish Dialect of the present Times) by the name of little things [or Trifles, as the fore-mentioned Scribler]; and that in order to their being laid aside not only as little but superfluous. And also his declaring, ^l who are the prime Designers as well as the professed Actors against our Church; who are the Pope's Tools, and how his Skill was not at all less in Ninety-three than forty one. And his ranking ^m Passive Obedience, [lately ⁿ stil'd by a blasphemous Wretch a most absurd and blasphemous Doctrine] among the Duties and Vertues of a Christian, and complaining that such old fashioned Christianity seems as much out of date with some, as Christ's Divinity and Satisfaction. 'Tis indeed a very deplorable thing in our Days to see Men so loose in their Principles, and such Strangers to Revealed Religion, that most Mysteries of Christianity are no less exploded as Contradictions by their blind *Natural Reason*, than *Non-Resistance* by their unruly

^k Epistle Dedicatory to the 2^d Vol.

^l Ibid.

^m 2^d Vol. Sermon the last.

ⁿ Priestcraft in Perfection, p. 9.

Natural Liberty. I shall here subjoin several Passages out of the forementioned Reverend Person's Sermons; whereby his Christian and Loyal Zeal for our excellent Church and Monarchy, as well as his watchful Care to warn us against the Enemies of both, and their open and secret Practices, are most apparent.

" In that excellent body of Prayers contained in our Liturgy, and both compiled and enjoined by Publick Authority, have we not a great instance of brevity and fullness together, cast into several short and significant Collects, each containing a distinct, intire, and well managed Petition? The whole Set of them being like a string of Pearls, exceeding rich in conjunction; and therefore of no small price or value, even single and by themselves. Nothing could have been composed with greater judgment; every Prayer being so short, that it is impossible it should weary; and withal so pertinent, that it is impossible it should cloy the Devotion. And indeed so admirably fitted are they all to the common concerns of a Christian Society, that when the Rubrick enjoins but the use of some of them, our Worship is not imperfect; and when we use them all, there is none of them superfluous.

2 Vol. Sermon. 4.

" The Church of *England* glories in nothing more, than that she is the truest friend to Kings and to kingly Government of any Church in the World; that they were the same Hands and Principles that took the Crown from the King's Head, and the Miter from the Bishops. [I'll add, *and the Head from both*]. It is indeed the Happiness of some Professions and Callings, that they can equally square themselves to, and thrive under all Revolutions of Government. But the Clergy of *England* neither know nor affect that Happiness; and are willing to be despised for not doing so. And so far is our Church from encroaching upon the Civil Power, as some who are back Friends to both, would maliciously insinuate, that were it stripped of the very remainder of its Privileges, and made as like the Primitive Church for its bareness, as it is already for its Purity; it could cheerfully, and what is more, Loyal-ly, want all such Privileges; and in the want of them pray heartily that the Civil Power may flourish as much, and stand as secure from the assaults of Fanatick, Antimonarchical Principles (grown to such a dreadful height

F

" during

“ during the Churches late Confusions) as it stood while the
 “ Church enjoyed those Privileges. 1 Vol. 5 Sermon.

“ Some indeed may please and promise themselves high
 “ matters from full Revenues, stately Palaces, Court-inter-
 “ rests, and great Dependances. But that which makes the
 “ Clergy glorious, is to be knowing in their Profession, un-
 “ spotted in their Lives, active and laborious in their
 “ Charges, bold and resolute in opposing Seducers, and
 “ daring to look Vice in the Face, though never so potent
 “ and illustrious: And lastly, to be gentle, courteous, and
 “ compassionate to all. *Ibid.*

“ The labour of Obedience, Loyalty, and Subjection is
 “ no more but for a Man honestly and discreetly to sit still,
 “ and to enjoy what he has, under the Protection of the
 “ Laws. And when such a one is in his lowest Condition,
 “ he is yet high and happy enough to despise and pity the
 “ most prosperous Rebel in the World: even those famous
 “ ones of Forty One (with all due respect to their flourish-
 “ ing Relations be it spoke) not excepted. 2 Vol. 1 Sermon.

“ I doubt not (how much soever Knaves may abuse Fools
 “ with words for a time) but there will come a day, in
 “ which the most active Papists will be found under the
 “ Puritan Mask; and in which it will appear, that the
 “ Conventicle has been the Jesuits safest Kennel, and the Pa-
 “ pists themselves, as well as the Fanaticks, have been Ma-
 “ nagers of all those monstrous Out-cries against Popery,
 “ to the ruine of those Protestants, whom they most hate,
 “ and whom alone they fear. It being no unheard of Trick
 “ for a Thief, when he is closely pursued, to cry out, *stop*
 “ *the Thief*, and thereby diverting the suspicion from himself,
 “ to get clear away. 2 Vol. 5 Sermon.

“ And to shew how the same Cheat runs through all Pro-
 “ fessions, though not in the same Dress, none are more
 “ powerfully and grossly under it, than another sort of Men,
 “ who, on the contrary, place their whole acceptance with
 “ God, and indeed their whole Religion, upon a mighty
 “ Zeal or rather out-cry against Popery and Superstition:
 “ verbally indeed utter'd against the Church of *Rome*, but
 “ really meant against the Church of *England*. To which
 “ sort of Persons I shall say no more but this, (and that in
 “ the Spirit of Truth and Meekness) namely; That Zeal
 “ and Noise against Popery, and real Services for it are no
 “ such inconsistent things, as some may imagine; indeed
 “ no more than Invectives against Papists and solemn Ad-

“ dresses

“dresses of thanks to them, for that very thing, which
 “would have brought in Popery upon us. And if those
 “of the Separation do not yet know so much (thanks to
 “them for it) we of the Church of *England* do; and so may
 “they themselves too, in due time. 2 *Vol.* 11 *Serm.*

“Since the Liturgy, Rites and Ceremonies of our Church
 “have been, and still are so much cavilled at; and all up-
 “on a plea of Conscience, it will concern us seriously to
 “examine the force of this Plea, which our Adversaries
 “are still setting up as the grand Pillar and Buttreſs of
 “the good old Cause of Non-Conformity. The Notion of
 “Conscience well ſtated, if firmly kept to, and thoroughly
 “driven home, would effectually baffle and confound all
 “those senseless, though clamorous, Pretences of the Schismatical
 “opposers of the Constitutions of our Church. In defence
 “of which, I shall not speak so much as one Syllable a-
 “gainſt the Indulgence and Toleration granted to these
 “Men. No, ſince they have it, let them (in God’s name)
 “enjoy it, and the Government make the beſt of it. But
 “ſince I can’t find that the Law, which tolerates them in
 “their way of Worship (and it does no more) does at all
 “forbid us to defend ours, it were earneſtly to be wiſhed,
 “that all hearty Lovers of the Church of *England* would
 “aſſert its excellent Conſtitution more vigorously now than
 “ever. 3 *Vol.* 12 *Serm.*

“We have ſeen an horrid, unnatural, Civil-War raiſed
 “and carried on; the pureſt and moſt primitively reformed
 “Church in the World laid in the Duſt, and one of the
 “beſt and moſt innocent Princes, that ever ſat upon a
 “Throne, by a barbarous unhear’d of Violence, hurried to
 “his Grave in a bloody Sheet, and not ſo much as ſuffer’d
 “to reſt there to this day; and all this by Men acting un-
 “der the moſt ſolemn pretences of Conſcience, that Hypo-
 “criſy perhaps ever yet preſumed to out-face the World
 “with. And are not the Principles of thoſe Wretches ſtill
 “own’d and their Perſons ſainted by a Race of Men of
 “the ſame Stamp, riſen up in their ſtead, the ſworn mortal
 “Enemies of our Church? And yet for whoſe ſake,
 “ſome Projectors among us have been turning every Stone
 “to transform, mangle and degrade its noble Conſtituti-
 “on to the homely mechanick Model of thoſe Republican
 “imperfect Churches abroad: which inſtead of being any
 “Rule or Pattern to us, ought in all reaſon to receive one
 “from us. Nay, and ſo ſhort ſighted are ſome in their

“ Politicks, as not to discern all this while, that it is not
 “ the Service but the Revenue of our Church which is struck
 “ at; and not any Passages of our Liturgy, but the Proper-
 “ ty of our Lands which these Reformers would have al-
 “ ter’d. (*For which see Burnet’s Preface to his second Part of
 the Reformation towards the end*) &c. *Ibid.*

“ Nothing can be fuller of contradiction and ridiculous
 “ Paradox, than to think to reconcile the Sovereignty of the
 “ Magistrate, and the Safety of the Government with the
 “ sturdy Plea of dissenting Consciences. It being all one,
 “ as if the Scepter should be put into the Subjects Hand, in
 “ order to his being governed by it. — Few make this
 “ Plea themselves, who being once got into Power will in-
 “ dure it in others. Consult History for the practices of
 “ such in *Germany*, and your own Memoires for the Pra-
 “ ctices of the late Saints in *England*. In their general
 “ comprehensive Toleration, Prelacy stood always joined with
 “ Popery, and both were excepted together. Nor was there
 “ any Toleration allowed for the Liturgy and established
 “ Worship of the Church of *England*, though the users of
 “ it pleaded Conscience never so much for its use, and the
 “ known Laws of God and Man, for the Rule of that
 “ their Conscience. 3 Vol. 5 Sermon.

These Passages are but a very few out of those many, which
 I might quote, as very pertinent to the design of my present
 Discourse; for all his Sermons indeed seem to aim at this,
 (which every Minister ought to have in his view, when he
 speaks in the Pulpit or elsewhere) to represent and recom-
 mend the Duties of a *True Church-Man*, and a *Loyal Subject*.
 And the Author liveth as he speaks, and (what I wish
 every Clergy-man especially would do) filleth up the Cha-
 racter of both, as I dare appeal to those, who are ac-
 quainted with him. One thing in him I must dislike,
 which all that know him and therefore wish him to be
 more known, can’t but blame; that a Man so well quali-
 fied to do good to the Publick, should be so much in love
 with Retirement; and this is the reason, why I would not
 slip this Opportunity of setting so bright an Example in as
 good light as I was able, though I run the Risk of offending
 his Modesty. But to return to our *Cobler of Catechisms* (or,
 as the Proverb has it, *ab equis ad asinos*;) he brings by Head
 and Shoulders three quotations out of the Doctor’s Ser-
 mons.

“ 1st. The Book of the Revelation the more it is studied,
 “ the less it is understood; and if it does not find a Man
 “ mad, it will make him so. There needs no other Vin-
 dication of the Doctor, but to write down his words fairly
 as they are printed in his last Sermon of his second Vo-
 lume, and any considering Reader will perceive how they
 are wrested and abused by this ignorant malicious Man.

“ Because the Light of Natural Conscience is in many
 “ things defective and dim, and the internal Voice of God’s
 “ Spirit not always distinguishable, above all, let a Mind
 “ attend to the Mind of God, utter’d in his revealed Word.
 “ I say, his revealed Word. By which I do not mean, that
 “ mysterious, extraordinary, (and of late, so much studi-
 “ ed) Book called the *Revelation*, and which perhaps the
 “ more it is studied, the less ’tis understood, as generally
 “ either finding a Man cracked, or making him so.

The mysteriousness of this Book is (I humbly conceive,
 and pronounce it not *absolutely* but) *perhaps* the Reason why
 our Church orders nothing of it to be read in publick but
 for some Epistles; part of the fourth Chapter on *Trinity-*
Sunday, of the seventh on *All-Saints*; and for Lessons, the
 first and last Chapter on St. *John’s*, part of the nineteenth
 on *All-Saints*. Such Eagle Eyes as St. *John’s*, or St. *Paul’s*
 wrapt up into the Third Heaven, or some other *inspired* Per-
 son, might pry into that *unaccessible Light*, where God dwelleth;
 but *inspired* Persons being now as rare as *Miracles*; and the
generality of Readers not inspired, whoever rashly intrudes
 into that Light, may take it for his Pains, if he is blinded
 with it. *Majestatum scrutator opprimetur à gloriâ.*

2^{dly}. The second Quotation is concerning the Incarnati-
 on of our Lord. “ It is as it were to cancel the essential
 “ Distances of Things, to remove the Bounds of Nature,
 “ to bring Heaven and Earth, and which is more, both
 “ ends of a Contradiction together: Were it not to be a-
 “ dor’d as a Mystery, it would be exploded as a Contra-
 “ diction.

Here this *Botcher* has jumbled together two Passages,
 which are set down thus in two of the Doctor’s Sermons, in
 the third Volume.

One in the seventh Sermon, where we read these Words,
 “ The Nativity of Christ is certainly a Compendium of
 “ the whole Gospel, in that it thus both begins and ends
 “ it, reaching from the first Chapter of St. *Matthew* to this
 “ last of the *Revelation* (out of whose 16 Verse the Text
 “ is

“ is taken, and which is one of the few Chapters in that
 “ Book appointed to be read by our Church) ; which lat-
 “ ter tho’ it be confessedly a Book of Myſteries, and a Sy-
 “ ſtem of occult Divinity ; yet ſurely it can contain no-
 “ thing more myſterious and ſtupendous than the Myſte-
 “ ry here wrapp’d up in the Text, where we have Chriſt
 “ declaring himſelf both the Root and the Off-ſpring of
 “ *David*. For that any one ſhould be both Father and
 “ Son to the ſame Perſon, Produce himſelf, be Cauſe and
 “ Effect too, and ſo the Copy give Being to its Original,
 “ ſeems at firſt ſight ſo very ſtrange and unaccountable,
 “ that were it not to be adored as a Myſtery, it would be
 “ exploded as a Contradiction.

The other in the next Sermon to this, “ That God
 “ ſhould thus in a manner transform himſelf, and ſub-
 “ due and maſter all his Glories to a poſſibility of human
 “ Apprehenſion and Converſe, the beſt Reaſon would
 “ have thought it ſuch a thing as God could not do, had
 “ it not ſeen it actually done. It is (as it were) to can-
 “ cel the eſſential diſtances of things, to remove the bounds
 “ of Nature, to bring Heaven and Earth, and (what is
 “ more) both ends of the Contradiction together.

What is there in all this but may ſtand the Teſt and
 Examination of the nicest Critick in Philoſophy and Di-
 vinity ? For did not this myſterious Problem, propoſed by
 our Saviour in theſe Words, (Matth. 22. 45.) *If David*
then call him (Chriſt) Lord, how is he his Son ? non-plus
 the Underſtanding of the *Phariſees*, who were not a whit
inferiour to our modern Scepticks in *reaſoning*, nor *ſuperiour*
 to them in *oppoſing Reaſon to Faith ?* as we find *Nicodemus*
 arguing with our Saviour againſt Spiritual Regeneration,
John 3. 4, 9. and reprov’d by him for his Infidelity,
 v. 10, 11, 12, 13. But we live in an Age, where in the
 middle of a Chriſtian Church Men dare affirm *Chriſtianity*
 not to be *myſterious*. ’Tis a *Contradiction* to Chriſtianity to
 bear with thoſe Emiſſaries of Satan, who laugh away the
Myſteries of the Kingdom of God, and of *Chriſt*, (Matth. 13.
 11. Luk. 8. 10. Col. 4. 3.) to bring in their room the
Mystery of Iniquity, (2 Theſſ. 2. 7.) and *Babylon*, (Apoc. 17.
 5.) Shall it ſeem hard to *unreaſonable* Mortals to ſay,
 that God (*who can do every thing*, Job 42. 2.) can, *as it*
were, (or without, *as it were*) remove the bounds of Na-
 ture, and bring together both ends of (what to our ſhal-
 low Apprehenſion appears) a Contradiction ? And ſhall it

it not seem much harder to *reasonable* ones to see some Men removing the bounds of *Grace*, pretending to a *form of Godliness*, but denying the power thereof, (2 Tim. 3. 5.) and acting *Contradictions*, by professing that which at the same time they *undermine*; and making up that Monster called, a *False Brother*? who is a *Son of the Church*, and an Agent against it; who having rebelled against his Spiritual Mother, dares plead for Rebellion against and in the very Face of his Temporal Prince; a *Tugger* for Liberty, who is much better at wrestling with his Prince (as *Jacob* with his Brother) for the Birth-right; than with his God (as *Israel* with the Angel) for a Blessing; who by his wrestling and tugging is fitter for the Bear-garden than the Church.

3. The third Quotation is out of the 11th Sermon of the first Volume. "God seemed to have espoused to himself the Jews, a cross, odd, untoward sort of People, upon the very same account that *Socrates* espoused *Xantippe*, only for her extreme ill Conditions, above all he could possibly find or pick out of that Sex. The Words in the Sermon run thus: "The truth is, they were all along a cross, odd, untoward sort of People, and such as God seems to have chosen, and (as the Prophets sometimes phrase it) to have espoused to himself, upon the very same account, that *Socrates* espoused *Xantippe*, only for her extreme ill Conditions, above all that he could possibly find or pick out of that Sex; and so, the fittest Argument both to exercise and declare his admirable Patience to the World.

I wish any one would shew me in these Words, what is contrary to Truth, Sense, or Propriety of Language. The Character of the Jewish Nation is known to all who are versed in the Old and New Testament; and I can't tell who or why any one should be offended with the Description of it, unless it be the *Corahs*, *Dathans*, and *Abirams* of our Days, who so much resemble them, by murmuring continually against those, whom God thinks fit to set over them.

Having gone through the Quotations out of Dr. South's Sermons, I shall not trouble my self to trace this unchristian Catechist through every one of the rest, which he brings out of others; but dismiss him with these two Remarks.

1. He seems not to be very fond of the pious Memory of King *Charles* the Martyr, and maketh it one of the Characters of a High-Church-man to think him one; as appears by his two Questions and Answers, p. 15.

“ Q. Why do you reckon *Charles* the First to be a Martyr?

“ A. Because he set himself for the Rescue of the Church from the Encroachments of the Secular Courts and Erastian Laws.

“ Q. What Character does Archbishop *Laud* give *Charles* the First?

“ A. That he was a Gracious Prince, that knew not how to be or to be made great; and trusted false, cowardly, and perfidious Men.

Here indeed he (tho' not designedly, for I would not wrong him) maketh amends to the High-Church-man for all the Dirt he had thrown at him: for none, but a rank Rebel, will rob that good King of the Title of Martyr, which all loyal Subjects have given him ever since he fell a Sacrifice to the insuing Rebellious Revolution, and the ever-pretended Rights and indefeazable Liberties of the People. I shall not inquire into Dr. *Bink's* Hyperbole quoted by him, *That the Fact of 48 was going beyond Lucifer in his own way of Pride and Insolence*. I will not be quarrellsome, and it will be at the present sufficient to me, and I hope to them, (unless they should pretend to rebel against and dispute the precedence with their Father) if they take their place next to Lucifer. That proud Angel, the first Mover and Teacher of Sedition, suffers not in his Kingdom his Prerogative of Resistance which he has purchased with the loss of Heaven, to be usurped by any of his infernal Vassals. So the cursed Sin of Rebellion, no sooner thought upon than driven out of Heaven, and doomed to be eternally punished in Hell, has no place left but Earth, where to spread its Contagion. Whether Earth be the middle Region between Heaven and Hell, I know not; but this I'm sure, that the Sin of *Disobedience* seems to work most in those middle sort of Men, named *moderate*; who are always more busy in setting bounds to, than diligent in the discharge of their Duty. But *nemo repente turpissimus*; Rebellion is too ugly and forbidding to appear at first barefaced; human Nature would startle at it; and therefore must

must be worked to it by degrees. Self-preservation paves the way, Original-contracts lead you on, then you are taught the *Measures of Submission* (by a Priest, in the Pulpit, and out of *St. Paul's Epistles*,) till it be measured quite away; having learned where you may cease to obey, there is but a short Passage (through the help of *Grotius de jure belli & pacis*) to learn where you may begin to rebel; [for where Measures are given to Obedience, there are very seldom any given to Conscience]: And here for fear of spoiling all by discovering too soon the *Gorgon's Head* to open view, Resistance is qualified, and not to be allowed of before a *total Subversion of the Constitution*: then Men's Consciences by this time are seared; they are prone to interpret every Action of their Prince, which does not please their Fancy, a *total Subversion*; and thus ^o by an unhappy Train of Accidents and fatal Errors, that hindreth things from being brought to a Settlement: even while a King is granting all that Subjects can desire, he is by them brought to the Block: and thus fell that ^p Blessed King Charles the First. Then the Devil's Factors for Resistance spare no Pains in putting fair Colours upon one of the blackest Deeds, that ever was perpetrated under the Pretence of Law, and with the Solemnity of Judges and a Court of Judicature; the utmost Artifice is used to extenuate the Deed, by aggravating all the Passages of that King's Reign, such as ^q the bringing again in vogue the lately condemned Doctrine (of Passive Obedience) as the Law of Government being from God, antecedent to all human Laws; illegal Imprisonments, illegal Monopolies, severe Proceedings in the Star-Chamber, but above all, Ship-money: they strive by much noise about Rebelious Subjects Grievances to drown the Voice of that ^r innocent Blood, the shedding whereof nothing but the Blood of the Son of God can expiate: And tho' a Day of Humiliation and a Form of Prayer is yearly by Act of Parliament appointed for that Day, yet he's the most pleasing Preacher, and farthest from being impeached, who puts the most moderate Construction upon the Matter, who takes an opportunity of preaching up the Dependence of the King upon the Subjects, not the Duty of their entire Submission to him; who, tho' the Church prayeth to God that the Guilt of that Blood may not be laid to the charge of the People of this

^o Bishop of Salisbury's Speech.

^p Ibid.

^q Ibid.

^r The Collect at Morning-Prayer for that Day.

Land, nor be required of us or our Posterity, yet endeavours to wear out the Memory of the Day, and the Design of the Fast enjoined, even by boldly vouching the Word of God for it, and affirming the time is come, when this Proverb shall be disused, *the Fathers have eaten sowre Grapes, and the Children's Teeth are set on edge* : He, who inveigheth most against the Hellish Action and Actors of that Day, is worried under the Name of an *High-Church-man* ; and he, who excuses them most, and forbears to name odious Cases, and condemn Resistance in crude and general Terms ; who exclaimeth most against *Hereditary Right*, and, in spite of the Church, makes the King one of the Three Estates of the Realm, is caressed as a moderate Man, and recommended as a fit Candidate for Preferment. Thus are Men initiated, nursed, brought up, and finished in the School of Rebellion ; and the Devil, who dares no longer rebel against his Maker, teaches Men to rebel against his Representatives.

2. Our Catechist, scorning to answer his Questions always in other Mens Words, is resolved to shew you a piece of his Art, and answer one of them himself.

“ Q. Which is the best way of supporting the Doctrine of Passive Obedience ?

“ A. To raise a Popish and Jacobite Mob, and pull down Meeting-Houses ; and then charge it on the Dissenters, as we did the Popish Plot, and the burning of London.

'Tis obvious enough to see how many Lies, as well as how much Malice, (for every body knows these two have but one Father) is shut up in so narrow a compass of Words : But since the Slanderer has here (as it often happens) outshot his Mark, and by the heat of his Malice so swelled the Lie, that it outweighs the Credit he might have expected, I'll leave him and his Answer to their own Confutation. As to pulling down Meeting-Houses, I am nei-

* Two of the Collects on King Charles the Martyr's Day, and King Charles's Return, reckon King Charles the Second to have had a just and undoubted Right as Heir to the Crown.

* The Church appoints a Form of Prayer for the happy Deliverance of the King and the Three Estates of the Realm from Gun-Powder Treason.

ther for mobbing a *Meeting-House*, nor a *Popish Chappel*, but pray God the *Church of England* may never be mobbed by either. I leave the *Restraint* or *Permission* of Both to the Wisdom of the Government, and will never justify those, who intermeddle in those things, for the doing of which they have no Commission from it. However I'll have him know, that an *High-Church-man*, if he be but allowed the same liberty of asking Questions as a *moderate Whig*, may make a shift to answer them, at least without *Lying*; put the Case such a Question as this were proposed.

“ Q. What has been done to a poor Drawer, for
 “ refusing to drink a Health to the Damnation of a
 “ Clergy-man ?

And were answer'd thus briefly and truly.

“ A. His Nose was slit.

Suppose a second Question was subjoined thus :

“ Q. Were these worthy Nose-slitters High-Church-
 “ men or Moderate-men ?

And let this last be answer'd by them at their leisure ; and if the Mobility was tried for pulling down Meeting-Houses, why should not they be tried likewise for slitting of Noses ? Shall a Waterman of *London* be found more guilty for helping to gut *Daniel Burgesse's* Conventicle, than these for *disfiguring* a poor Man's Face ?

Notwithstanding all this, 'tis not my Opinion, that what is done by a few, ought to be charged upon, unless it be approved by, the whole Party ; and what I have urged in this Particular, is by me designed only as *argumentum ad hominem* ; and what he intends as a good Argument against one Party, may with a parity of Reason be in answer to him retorted by me against another.

Now if *Pasquin's* Rule in his * Letter to *Bickerstaff* did hold universally true (as it does not) that whatever is not burnt, must be supposed to be a *Doctrine received as Orthodox* among us ; how would the true Church of *England* suffer in the Opinion of Foreigners from the Misrepresentations and Calumnies it labours under. Our *British* Censor would do

* Tatler, Numb. 187.

well in his new Bedlam, to provide not only a large place for his *Lunatics*, but another Apartment for those *stark-staring-mad furious* Folk, who under the name of *Moderation*, would have us damn our Fellow Creatures; and then for Charity-sake, to take into his Consideration the Cure of a poor distracted Country-man of his (if ever he should return) now a Traveller at *Rome*, who, as *Pasquin* informs his Friend, calumniates his native Soil without Mercy, loading it with the basest of Crimes, Ungratefulness; and dispersing this infamous Scandal abroad, *That our Heroes are ill treated, and Criminals pass through our Towns with Acclamations.* *Pasquin's* Friend *Isaac* might have done him a special piece of Service, if in his next Letter he had rectified his mistake, and given him a Description of *Blenheim-Castle*, built at the publick Cost of the Nation; and then challeng'd *Pasquin* (if he can) to produce any Example among *Greeks, Romans*, or any other Nations, wherein the English Generosity has been out-done in heaping upon her Heroes Honours and Riches greater than several of our Kings have been known to enjoy. Let him but peruse the Annals of the *Romans*, Mr. *Bickerstaff's* so much admired Nation; and he'll meet there with many a well deserving General, after much Toil taken, and many Battels fought in the defence of his Country, turned out and ruined ungratefully, on pretence of his growing too Popular, or some other Reasons. That wise and politick Common-wealth, having shaken off the Yoak of Monarchy, grew the more jealous of every one, upon which it could fix the Crime of growing too great; for it was resolved to be no more ridden by Subjects than by Kings.

Again, as to his *Criminal*, I know not whom he means, unless it be the Clergy-man, who lately underwent the Censure of the highest Court of this Nation: And as far as I could inform my self, has triumphed no otherwise than in the Congratulations of his Friends and Well-wishers; and ought to thank God and the Cause of the Church (which is look'd upon ever to be concerned, when a Minister is call'd in question; for it may often happen, that the *Gown* commands more respect than he who wears it) that the Fire, which burnt his Sermon, did not reach him too; for *Roast the Parson* was the cry of the Party; and the Whiggish blood-thirsty Zealots bragg'd that they would not be at a loss for a Precedent how to punish him, as long as the Punishments of High-Offenders in the Star-Chamber were

were upon Record, such as Pillory, Nailing of Ears, and Whipping; and I dare say, that if these moderate Men had been his Jury or Judges, his Tongue would have been, not silenced for a time, but disabled from ever speaking again.

This English Traveller mention'd in *Pasquin's* Letter, went on upbraiding his Country with odious Comparisons, applying the irreconcilable Hatred between *Hanno* and *Hannibal* to the like Hatred between some of his Country-men. Whoever is by him complemented under the name of *Hannibal*, whom I wonder he did not place at the upper end of his Table of Fame, is not over-much obliged to him; for (if we may take that General's Character from *Livy*) his Vertues were not so great, but he had as great Vices to keep Company with them, which are reckon'd up by the *Roman* Historian. Then as to his proud insulting Speech, when he was recall'd by order of the *Carthaginian* Senate, it was indeed time for that Senate to recal their General, when he and his Army were so considerably beaten by the *Roman* *Scipio*.

Which after the writing of this I found to be taken notice of by *Aminadab's* Letter to Mr. *Bickerstaff* (*Tatler* 190.) or by his own Letter to himself written in a Quaker's style; and had our Censor been content to own his imprudence, and not pretended a circumstantial Necessity, he had heard nothing from me; and I had not only preserved but improved my Esteem for him, who was so ingenuous as to acknowledge his Fault, if he had not resolved to continue in it, and affirm, That *the true publick Spirit of this Nation is run into a Faction against their Friends and Benefactors*. I know nothing of what he brings from the *Carthaginian* State of Affairs, which can be parallel'd in *England*. Our Enemies are beaten every where but at Home; our General in as great Favour and Command as ever; and, what *Hannibal* pretended to want, Recruits and Money, can't be pretended among us to be wanting, when the Nation, since the War, hath spent near an hundred Millions, and the War is still carried on with more Success, and no less Supplies than ever. Our wise Censor with his Friend *Harry English* is so wrapt up with Admiration and highest Reverence at the glorious instances in Antiquity, especially among the *Romans*, how publick spirited they were, how rejoicing upon News of Victory, that he blames the universal Indolence and In-attention of the English on the like Occasions; for no other Reason, but because he (like the *Roman* Messen-

ger with a Thorn in the Foot) somewhat peevish, for want of his Corn-cutter (may be) with a pain in his Toe, came hobbling to *Wills* with the News of the surrender of *Doway*, and there found some few, who having (ten to one) heard the News before, did not much heed his Tale, and began to entertain themselves with *Othello* the *Moor*, as brave and as ungratefully treated by the *Venetian*, as *Hannibal* by the Punick Senate; our crusty Censor stomachs it, and throweth off the Neglect from himself upon the Glory of the Country. Could not Mr. *Bickerstaff* hear the merry ringing of the Bells witnessing the publick Joy from every Steeple for the Pain of his Toe, or the Noise of a few in the Coffee-House arguing, whether grave *Othello* so well and so often play'd by *Betterton*, could be acted by airy *Wilks*? Must the in-attention, which appeared in those few, be represented as the universal Crime of the Nation? Then what means our gatherer of Latin scraps by Indolence? Indolence (I think) is want of Sorrow; and is it a Crime to want Sorrow upon a joyful occasion? However, let that pass. But if the truth were known, the English-man travelling at *Rome* is no other than downright *Isaac Bickerstaff*, and the comparison of *Hannibal* is owing to none but himself. And to what, in our present Times, compares he the recalling of *Hannibal*? If he by the help of Stars and his Telescopes (which he told us he sold long ago to purchase a Ticket in the *Million* Lottery) turns Conjuror again, and Prognosticates what no body dreameth on, he needs not wonder that his Tittle-Tattle should be neglected; and that People finding him and his Writings to be of another *stamp*, should slight both him and his Politicks, and begin to despise the pert and insolent *Commissioner* as much as they before admired and caressed the modest and innocent *Censor*. Let him keep within his Sphere, and bury as many dead Men as he pleases; but if he sawcily reflects upon a whole Nation, and degenerates into *Observer* and *Review* (in whose Company the Author of a late Dedication to his Squireship had placed him, if he could have foreseen his 187 and 190 *Tatlers*) let him take it for his pains, and thank his Stars into the bargain, if he is but reckoned to want an Undertaker more than any of the silly *Coxcombs*, which he has exposed.

I'll make but one Remark or two more, and acquaint his Censorship, that he needed not have taken all the Readers of his Tatling Papers for Fools; and so he might have spared

spared himself the pains of forging a Letter from *Aminadab* to detect his Forgery of one from *Pasquin* ; and that, notwithstanding the deep forged Contrivance of his Law Case, every body may without much depth of Understanding find out, what is meant by the *Estate, Entail, Fine, Person in Possession, Heirs general, Customs of Barony, last Settlement, ancient Vassals of the Estate, Line of Succession, Right in the Person only, Rights common with others, those who were against passing the Fine, and the Compliments made by Enemies*. These high Titles and Rights are many Spheres beyond what his poor Telescopes can reach at : He may make himself merry with his Fellow-Almanack-maker *Partridge*, laugh at a conceited Beau, and pursue a cheating Gamester : But his late *Patent* does not give him a freedom to decide the *best Right* a Person in Possession has to an Estate, to which he is but a *Vassal*. That Person is not so much obliged to him (how ever the thing has been by infinitely wiser Heads already decided) for giving his Judgment in favour of the *depending Right* against the *inherent one*, and adding this Reason for it, That the *Right* he will pay his *Vassalage* to, is no other than that which is *common with others*. To be born to an Estate is a Right prior, and stronger, and more lasting than to be adopted into't ; and besides, to hold it but precariously under another. Estates are sometimes given to serve a vile Party ; but *Nature* is impartial, and settles them by Inheritance. If I am in the wrong, I beg pardon of the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, and so should Mr. *Bickerstaff* ; for (though he ventures at Almanacks, yet) his Skill in Physick and Astrology is not much superior (as appears by the resolution of the Case) to his or mine in the Law. His Fragment out of *Virgil* indeed, *timeo Danaos & dona ferentes*, suiteth very well his political Sentence, *There is nothing so dangerous or so pleasing as Compliments made by our Enemies*. And (without any Latin to match it) I may affirm there is something more dangerous but indeed not so pleasing ; that is, a Russian, who without any formality of Compliment flies in my Face, catches hold of my Crown, the better to aim at my Throat : The first shakes me by the Hand, the other by the Head ; the danger of the one is to come, that of the other is present : There it is but suspected, here it is felt. An Invader, who by his open Violence takes away the Right I have to my Estate, and forces me to depend solely upon him, is, I think, more formidable than one, who assures me of and asserts my Right, and whatever De-

signs

signs he may have of supplanting me hereafter, (which, if more nearly examined, may prove to be but a Calumny of the other) certainly thereby giveth me a Ground to stand upon, and a trusty Weapon to defend my self with. I'll now leave him and his Law-case to shift, (for that Case must be very *shiftless* which has an *Astrologer* for its Lawyer) and resume the Thread of my Discourse, from which I have been diverted by the Zeal I have for the Honour of our *English Nation*; and I think the Interest of the Church and State to be so linked together, that none can be an *High-Church-man*, but he must be an *High English-man* too.

Since therefore an *High-Church-man*, notwithstanding invidious and unjust Representations, is nothing else but a Man true to his Profession of the Church of *England*, very loth to quit and sacrifice any part of her Doctrine and Discipline to her sworn Foes; I shall ne'er be ashamed of that Name; while I'm convinced that Church is true and Orthodox, I'll honestly and inseparably stick to it; and I pray God that I may so persevere in this Profession; that no Prospect of secular Advantages on the one hand, neither Persecution, nor even Death on the other, may insnare or force me from it: May I never go after them who are given to change, and whose Principles hang as loose as their Cloaths, shifting the one with every Season, and the others with every *Revolution*. I detest, even the Company of those Men, whose Religion and worldly Interest go always together; who serve the *Times* and the *unrighteous Mammon* more than God; who like *trimming* better than *starving*; who chuse rather to *warm* themselves (with *Peter*, Mark 14. 54.) at the Fire of a profitable Post, than follow him, when he went out from that warm place, and wept bitterly, (Matth. 26. 75.) Such vile Wretches may rank themselves among the Disciples of Christ, whom he has commanded to leave all and bear his Cross; but in truth their Temper resembleth much *Judas's Avarice* and *Treachery*, for they ever attend the Bag, and the Knave that carries it. Moreover I desire not only to profess, but to live up to the Rules of our Church; to be as high in the constant Attendance of her *Services*, as in a stout Assertion and Vindication of her Rights from those who have betray'd them; I will take care that my Life as well as Tongue speak loudly in her Defence; and that my Example may win those, whom my Arguments cannot convince.

There-

Therefore I have an Aversion to those, who love more to *drink a Health* to the Church, than to be in it; who are more constant in their *Counting-house* or *Office*, than in their *Pew*; who by nothing can be hinder'd from their *worldly* Affairs, but gladly plead a Dispensation from their *spiritual* ones, because (forsooth) the Weather is sometimes too *hot*, and sometimes too *cold*, and so their Zeal to the Church is as moderate as the Weather, wherein they most chuse to go to't; who celebrate the Festivals of our Church by *vacating* from their weekly Occupations, and by diverting themselves, more than by *waiting* on God's House, and joining in the Duty, which the Day is set apart for; who with an indefatigable Slavery, and even to the Prejudice of their Health *pursue their Gains six* Days, and think themselves tolerably good or *moderate* Christians, if they give God but *half the Seventh*, and make this the chief use of it, to recruit their Spirits tired with the past Week's works, that they may better bear those of the following. As I have not a very good Opinion of any one for omitting the general Custom of bowing at the * Name of Jesus, or of looking towards the Altar at the pronouncing of the Creed; so I have a very bad one of him, who turns his back upon it, when he is invited thither by God's Messengers; and † our Saviour, (in the Parable of the Man, who made a great Supper, &c.) has abundantly declared, how little such Excuses of *having bought a piece of ground, five yoke of oxen, or married a wife*, will avail to any one for absenting himself from that heavenly Banquet.

Upon the whole, the only Church-man I approve of, is he, who is *high*, as in his *Profession*, so in his *Practice*; who is an Honour to the Cause, as the Cause to him; and is careful to justify his *high Zeal* for the Church, by the *strict Piety* and *entire Uprightness* shining through his whole Conversation: Thus to join *good Works* with a *true Faith* is the way to stop the mouths of evil Men.

The ancient *Romans* were wont by Sacrifices to avert ill Omens; and expiate all unexpected unlucky Accidents and monstrous Births which happen'd within their Dominions, 'Tis well we are Christians, and the Light of the Gospel

* Phil. 2 10. *That at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, &c.*
Clarend. Hist. l. 4. *It was enjoined by a Canon, and of a long Use in the Church.*

† Luke 14. 15.

has dispersed here the Clouds of Superstition : else what Fears might not Superstition suggest from those mungril, amphibious, hitherto unknown, Animals sprung up lately in this Island, *Occasional Conformists* and *Church-Whigs*, who unite themselves under the Name of Protestants ; yet I suspect they are the Forerunners of the Church of *Rome* ; for if our Throats be duly prepared and enlarged by swallowing such Inconsistencies, we shall make no bones of Transubstantiation. To be a *Dissenter*, and for the sake of some State-Employment to *conform* once or sometimes to the *Church-Communion* ; again, to be a *Church-man* and a constant Attendant on the *Church-Devotions and Sacraments*, and to promote the ends of, serve under, or please those, who are Enemies to the Church : what is all this but a flat *Contradiction* ? And tho' with a smooth Hypocrisy they carry't off with high-flying Colours among the Children of this Generation, being by them accounted *close, wise, and prudent* ; yet he, who dwelleth above, will (except they repent) *laugh them to scorn* ; and those *Fools*, who in this World *make a mock at Sin*, shall in the next find one, who'll *make a mock at the Sinner*.

These Parties, to bind their *grand alliance closer*, remove all marks of Distinction between themselves, and delight in this common Title of *moderate Men*, from the *moderate* and *mean* Esteem they have for the Church of *England*. Give me rather the *Honest Dissenter*, true to his Principles of Presbytery, and so highly zealous for his Conventicle, that he makes a Scruple of Occasional Conformity. He is a fair Enemy, and bids me open defiance, while those others are Spies, and treacherous Deserters. He acts above board, and keeps far enough from the Church and her Communion ; for his Prejudice is so great, that he would as soon go to Mass as near it. The *Moderate* bears the outward Face of a Church-man, and embraces the Church-Communion, because and while it is by Law established. Then he falls off by degrees, as that falls from the Publick Protection or Encouragement. If the *weak Brethren* gaining *Strength* begin to grumble, nothing is so dear, but must be parted with to stop their Mouth. If the Church asserteth her Rights against the growing Power of the *Faction*, then the general Outcry is, *Popery*. Our *moderate Man*, who at his Heart hateth Popery, and has as lieve see the *Turk* as the *Pope*, closeth with the *Dissenter*, for among Friends what needs standing so hard upon a few Ceremonies ?

nies? Episcopacy is but one remove from *Popery*; *All the Congregation of the Lord is holy*; The Priests, these *Sons of Levi take too much upon them* (Numb. 16. 3.) These *Corahs* then thus united set up for Liberty and Property, under pretence of keeping out *Popery*. But 'tis worth taking notice, that when the *Pharisees gathered a Counsel* against our Saviour, their Cry was not much unlike that of our modern *Pharisees*, *If we let him thus alone, the Romans shall come, and take away both our place and nation* (John 11. 47.) Yet how were these Men mistaken! for (as St. Chrysostom on that Place observeth) *they said Christ was to be killed, lest the Romans should come, and take away their Nation and City: but when they had killed him, they suffered those very things; and brought upon themselves, what they so studiously endeavoured to avoid.* I'll leave the Application to be made by the Enemies of our Church, wishing them to beware in time, and grow wiser, lest their loud Outcry should at last seem to have been made not to *shut out*, but to *call in* *Popery*.

There is an Aspersion as commonly as both vilely and falsely cast by the Enemies of our Church upon Her zealous hearty Friends, that their Zeal proceeds from a Principle of Persecution. Must a well-grounded Zeal be named Persecution, because their furious one is so? The Proof of which needs no far fetch'd Instances or Arguments: We may stay at home, and but open our Eyes to be convinced of it. Is it Persecution to wish the Church may ever be protected, and not be juttled from her Birth-right by those, who ought to thank God, that after so many Trials of their Malice and Incroachments they still are by a merciful Government *indulged*, and even so far *warmed* as to hiss and spit their Venom against the established Religion? I grudge them not their *Indulgence*, if instead of their so much boasted *Moderation* they would practise somewhat more of *Modesty*, by not grudging our Church her *Establishment*, and becoming her Competitors in that *Privilege*, which our Laws have fenced her with. I know at the same time 'tis not an *Establishment* or a Grant of *Indulgence*, neither is it change of Air, which gives a Church or Meeting the Stamp of Truth or Falshood. As a Church would still continue *true*, tho' it ceased to be established; and *Schismatics* would be never the less *Schismatics*, tho' they were as able as willing to improve the *Indulgence* granted them into an *Establishment*; which I hope will never

happen in *this* part of the Kingdom: So a *Church* established and *Schismatical* Meetings indulged in the *South*, lose not their true Names in the *North*, where the first is persecuted, and the last established; tho' I must say this for *Schism*, 'tis of so *hot* a Constitution, that the *North* is so far from *cooling* it, that by a kind of an Antiperistasis it rather *increaseth* its Fire.

But in every State there must be some one Religion or other, to which the Honours and Dignities thereof are appropriated; for none shall persuade me otherwise than that Civil Matters are better carried on, where all they, who are intrusted with them, have the same Religion, than where they have not. *Religion* has ever been the great Motive of *Union*; and the Knot of the last is more or less binding and lasting between Men, as they have more or less of difference about the first. A *common* Interest or Cause may unite *Swords* against a *common* Enemy; but 'tis *Religion* that best unites *Hearts*; and since the Hand which guides the Sword, is influenced by the Heart, most success will there attend, where *Religion* is the Advocate for the Cause.

If the State, under which I live, owneth the same Religion with me; I'll thankfully enjoy it, and dwell peaceably with those my Fellow-Subjects dissenting from me, without molesting or wishing them to be molested, or envying them what *natural* Rights they are *born* to; and I'll expect both in justice and return to my peaceable Temper, that they go not about to wrest from me, what *Rights* and *Privileges* I am by *Law* as well as *Nature* intitled to and possessed of. On the other hand, if the Religion of the State and mine be not the same, either my Religion is *tolerated*, or it is *not*. If it be, I'll with the same Thankfulness and Quietness enjoy my *Toleration*, not exceeding the Bounds it has set me; neither by *open Rebellion* destroying, but rather *seeking* by all possible Methods the *Peace of the Country*, (as *Jeremy* c. 29. v. 7. bids the *Captive Jews* in *Babylon*) nor by *private Conspiracy* fomenting Quarrels, and Murmuring, because the Government thinks not fit to trust me with any share of its Administration; nor yet by complying Knavishly and against my Conscience with the *State-Religion*, in order to qualify my self for *State-Preferment*, and by a cursed Dissimulation rob another already qualified, who, honestly and according to his Conscience professeth that Religion. If my Religion be not tolerated, but curbed by *Penal Laws* or however otherways *persecuted*, I will with the same Quietness

exercise

exercise a *Passive Obedience*, submitting patiently to what the Laws of the Land do inflict, or else saving my self by flight into another: Nor will I in the Land of my Retirement, practise Revenge by stirring it up to War against that, whence I fled; especially if it was my *native Country*; and I have by any *lawful* Obligation bound my *Allegiance* to its Government. These shall always be the Rules of my Conversation; and I think them very justifiable in relation to the several Duties I owe to God, my Neighbour, and my self.

It is therefore my Opinion, that all *Occasional-compliers*, *Time-servers*, *Trimmers*, and all *Patrons of Resistance*, by whatever Names, *Places* and *Titles* dignified or distinguished, are so many Pests of the Government they live under; and though they in outward appearance comply, yet 'tis to be feared least those, who upon *one occasion* are so ready to *shake Hands* with it, may upon *another* be as ready or readier to *lift them up* against it. These Men are better Friends to St. Peter's *Sword* than his *Cross*; and least the *Sword* should fail, take the *Purse* too with them; and quote (right or wrong) Scripture (*Luke 22. 36.*) for both; Then the *Purse* will buy and pay the *Sword*, and the *Sword* protect the *Purse*; and (what is worse) they between them *buy* and *monopolize* every thing, but *pay* and *protect* none but one another. St. Peter, among his eminent *failings* (as one draweth on another), soon after he had *drawn his Sword* (and I defy any of our Resisters to produce a more *plausible occasion*, for it was) in the Defence of God himself, his Saviour and great Master, *denied* him Thrice as *basely*, as he had before attempted his rescue *zealously*. And I'm shrewdly inclined to suspect, that our Agents for Rebellion, who are so quick at *drawing their Sword* against the Magistrate, under the fair Pretence of *defending* our Religion, will not scruple to *deny* it; and if their *Sword* could not serve them to maintain it, *occasionally* to *conform* to another. But they would do better to Copy after the Pattern of St. Peter's Virtues, no less eminent than his Failings, and much fitter for our imitation. For the good Apostle washed away the Cowardice of his *Abjuration* by the Bitterness of his *Tears*; and what ill Example he had given by his *Sword*, reprov'd by our Saviour himself (*Matth. 26. 56.*) he rectified by his Pen; in absolute Commands and earnest Exhortations to Obedience and Submission, *1 Pet. 2. 13.*

Having declared my Opinion against the whole Herd of *Occasionalists*, and the much better Men of the two the *rigid*
and

and high Dissenters, 'twill be expected (or else I shall expose my self to misinterpretation) that I give frankly my Sense and Judgment; first, concerning *Toleration* in general; and next concerning that *Toleration*, which is granted now by the Government.

I own, 1st. That I have a general Charity for all Men, and particularly for all my Fellow-Subjects; and therefore my first wish is, that they all were of the same Religion with me; but, since this can hardly be hoped for, my next is, that they enjoy such a *Liberty of Religion and Conscience* as may be consistent with *Morality* and good *Manners*.

2^{dly}. I wish the *Liberty* they are allowed were only *private*, and not *publick*, and enjoyed by them modestly or (since some People are fond of that word) *moderately*; and besides I would not have them on the foot of that *Liberty* lay a claim to those Privileges, which are appropriated to the Religion of the Country; nor ought they to think themselves persecuted, if even in *Turkey* or *China* they were not made *Passas* and *Mandarins*, as long as they are not forbidden, nor any ways punished for the private Exercise of their Religion.

3^{dly}. If the Government for Reasons of State, or any others whatsoever, thinketh fit to allow them never so large a Liberty, were it even superior to the Privileges of them, who profess the Established Religion; yet it does not become any private Subject publickly and factiously to *suggest and maintain*, that the *Moderation* granted by Law is *unreasonable*, and the allowance of it *unwarrantable*, because the lawful Magistrate deriving the warrant of his Authority from God, as he has a Power unquestionable of *allowing* a Toleration, so he may have *Reasons* for *granting* it, not to be searched and pried into by every one. But for all this, it does not follow (any thing that the Bishop of *Lincoln* has delivered in his ² Speech notwithstanding) but that a private Subject may, without any breach of his strictest Duty to the Divine Authority of that supreme Magistrate, charge the Persons thus *tolerated* by him with what Faults they are guilty of; because the Toleration ariseth not always from the good Deserts of those, for which it is given, but from other Circumstances of Affairs relating to the Publick Government. Thus God the Highest, and the sole Fountain of all earthly Power,

makes his Sun to rise on the evil as well as the good, and sendeth rain on the unjust as well as the just, (Matth. 5. 45.); and tho' I ought not to murmur against and expostulate with God, Wherefore doeth the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are all they happy, that deal very treacherously? (Jerem. 12. 1.) yet I may, without offence to God, say, that he, who is thus happy, and whose way does prosper, is wicked and dealeth very treacherously. But because there is an infinite disproportion between God's acting, and that of earthly Magistrates, be they never so much and so truly his Vicegerents; for who has directed the Spirit of the Lord, or who has been his Counsellor? (Isa. 40. 13. Rom. 11. 34.) earthly Princes may and do, for their better Understanding and greater Security, ask Counsel of and advise with such of their Subjects as they think fit: Therefore

4thly. It may become any Subject, if he be advised with by the Magistrate concerning the granting a *Toleration* to any sort of Men, whom he in his Conscience thinks to be dangerous to the Established Religion, to give humbly his Opinion against it; and with the same Humility refuse to be instrumental in it; and, if he be called to it, suffer for Conscience sake, which is called *Passive-Obedience*, and was the Case of the seven Bishops in the late King *James's* Reign: And on the other side, any Subject whatsoever, who through Fear or Hope, gives his Opinion for, or is instrumental in bringing in such a *Toleration*, as has at any time before ruined, or does in any neighbouring Place ruine, and consequently is likely to ruine that Established Religion which he professes himself, cannot be called a *true Friend* to his Profession (and every body knows what is the Reverse to a *true Friend*): nor does such a one lose the Name he deserves; neither is he, after the *Toleration* is lawfully enacted, ever the more honest for having been instrumental in it: And whoever, after such a *Toleration* has taken place, professing that Religion to which the tolerated Persons are Enemies, owns yet that (if he had been called to it) he would have been instrumental in it, deserves no better of that Religion than he who was so actually; and their designs being much alike, they need not fall out about names. Lastly, whoever in his private Judgment approveth not such a *Toleration*, as thinking it is now, or fearing it may hereafter be, of ill Consequence to the Established Religion, ought so to demean himself, that he neither by railing *Accusation* against or sawcily arraigning the Supreme Magistrate,

strate, disturb the Peace of his Country, or obstruct the exercise of its Government. And if ever he by his Duty to God or Command of the Magistrate, be called upon to declare his Opinion; he must do it with such a Behaviour as befits the Liberty of a Christian; and the Submission of a Subject, in such terms as may express the full, plain, and undisguised Integrity of his Thoughts without Equivocations or Hypocrisy, and a due respect to the Magistrate without Railing or Contention: And if this Christian Resolution and Loyal Carriage brings him into any Troubles, he ought to betake himself to *Passive Obedience*, leaving the Event to God Almighty, and comforting himself with his good Conscience and a satisfaction of having discharged his Duty.

5ly. If any set of Men demanded for themselves a *Toleration* of any thing, which is inconsistent with Moral Honesty (as of making an outward shew of what really they are not) or is prejudicial to the stated Rules of the *Established Religion* and to its *Establishment*; and those same Men have by their Wealth or any other means such Power and Interest, that the denial of their demands will seem to put, for the present or hereafter some stop to the Exigencies and Affairs of the State; and therefore in this critical Point, the *Religious* and *Civil* Concerns can't be so equally provided for, but that one must have the Preference with an apparent Prejudice to the other: I, with all humble submission to learned Casuists and subtle Politicians, think the *Civil* ought to yield to the *Religious*; for in the words of St. Peter and St. John (Acts 4. 19.) *Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto Men more than unto God, judge ye.* Besides the *Magistrate* may exercise such *Authority* over the *Subjects*, as not to article with them as if they both were upon an equal level; I think (with all deference to the so much of late cried up *Rights of the People*) that of the two the *Subject* rather ought to give some grains of Allowance for the somewhat higher ground the *Magistrate* stands upon: And lastly, what Opinion must every impartial judge have of those Men, who being allowed the free Exercise of their Religion are so far from being thankful, that they grow insolent in their Demands, and nothing will serve them but the impairing and endangering the *Religion Established*; and therefore catch at any opportunity and improve it to their own Advantage? Are these to be looked on as quiet and good Subjects? Do they deserve to obtain *new Grants* in prejudice

to an *Establishment*, when they abuse the *old*? Would the *Magistrate* be more guilty of *Tyranny*, if he by *Force* did bring such *Incroachers* to Reason, and, laying aside their unreasonable Demands, exact from them, what by the Law he has power to do; than of an unbecoming *Flattery*, if rather than not to yield to the *hard Terms* of his Subjects (as if they had over him a *Right of Conquest*) he did give up any *Right* peculiarly belonging to the *Religion by him established*? However tho' I have owned my private Sentiments, I shall not trouble my self, how the *Magistrate* acteth in any Indulgences or Condescensions; my business being not to *controul*, but to *obey*.

The other thing, of which I proposed to give my Thoughts, is the *Toleration*, which is now granted by the Government; and first of the Persons *Tolerated*, then of the *Toleration* it self.

The Persons *Tolerated* are the *Dissenters*, which kind of People I believe in their *Principles* and *Designs* to be Enemies to the Church of *England*. Nothing can be more opposite, than what our Church and they teach concerning *Episcopacy*; the one makes it a distinct and necessary Order, without whose Ordination none can execute any publick Duty in the Congregation: the others allow no such Order, and teach that the *Presbyter* and the *Bishop* are but one Name for the same Order of Persons. I'll mention no more of their *Principles*, and as for their *Designs*, they design no Good to the Church; for, where they have Power, (and that is not very far) they give it but very indifferent Quarter. I neither believe them to be very zealous Friends to our State and Monarchy, because *Schism* and *Faction* commonly go together (tho' I confess I know^{how} they may go with * my Lord of *Normich*); which two Sins I'll be so bold as to call *Works of Darknefs*, whatever He or his Brother of *Lincoln* may seem^b to think otherwise. That *Schism* and *Faction* go together, is plain from *Corah* and his rebellious Crew, who gathered themselves (*Numb.* 16. 3.) against *Moses* as well as against *Aaron*, and if they be not *Works of Darknefs*, what are they? for I hope none can presume to call them *Works of Light*. Besides these outward open Enemies of our Church, there are other inward concealed ones, which alone I call *False Brethren*. As for a downright Dissenter, let him strive never so much to ad-

* *Speech*, p. 27.

^b P. 18, and 27.

vance himself from a Religious Liberty to claim a Civil Right, and to juggle the Church out of her Establishment, I am so far from thinking and calling him a *False Brother* (as a Person lately under Trial is accused to have done, *Trial Fol. 80.*) that I can neither think nor call him *Brother* at all, but a sworn open Foe to the Church. A false Brother is he who sides with and entertains a favourable Opinion for the Enemies of him, with whom at the same time he converseth and pretendeth an intimate Friendship. Such is he in respect of the Church of *England*, who excuseth the Separation from it, or Occasional Conformity with it as no Fault, and whoever in any Matter promotes the Interest of any Person guilty of either of them two. An Occasional Conformist is one, who conformeth at some time only with the Rites of our Church, either because it qualifyeth him for some Place, or else because he thinks it does not matter much, what Communion he is of, so it be among any of those, who are comprehended under the Name of Protestants: And whether he, who takes our Church but as an Inn in his Road to Preferment; or he, who, as he is indifferent where he serveth God, in Church or Conventicle, so is careless which of the two is uppermost, can be called *True Friends* of the Church, let any one determine.

I think fit here to recommend to *Occasional Conformists* a very excellent Passage out of the Bishop of *Sarum's* Preface to his Second Part of the Reformation towards the end. "What signifies our having the Sacraments purely administered among us, if we either contemptuously neglect them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of a sense of the Holy Duties incumbent on us. Now I call *Occasional Conformists* not only them, who having been always Dissenters come once to our Communion to be qualified for a Place, and then immediately return to their Schism; but also those, who having obtained the Place do go sometimes to the Church, sometimes to their Meeting: And those besides, who always come to Church only, but yet neglect her Sacraments except when a Place drives them thither.

I can't for my Life think such *Occasional-Men* to be hearty Well-wishers to our Church and Constitution; I can't call them either *Brethren*, or *Friends*, unless it be in the same sense, as the King in our Saviour's Parable (*Matth. 22. 11, 12.*) bespoke the Hypocrite, who durst intrude into the Feast without a due Preparation, *Friend how camest thou in hither*

huber not having a wedding garment? Let those Political Christians (and a Political Christianity is not a Christian Policy) persuade themselves, if they can, that a warm Place of Court-Preferment is a Wedding-garment; for, if upon a strict Examination it proves not to be one, I'll advise them to beware of a Place (more *warm* than comfortable) whither the Hypocrite was sent; *outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth.*

Next, as I am utterly against *no* Toleration at all, so I am as much against such a *Toleration*, as makes the fore-said Enemies of our Church share any the least part of the Government; because (since what is done in one place, may be done in another) they are very prone to aim at an *Establishment*, which if they can compass, is not done without the utter overthrow of the Church. Therefore as Protestants, tho' under a Protestant Government, and out of any present danger of Popery, yet are highly concerned for the sake of succeeding Ages to secure the Crown in a Protestant Line; so I know not, why a Church-man, under a Church-Establishment, and out of any present danger of Presbyterianism, should be less concerned for the sake of his Posterity to secure the Church in her Establishment, and to wish the Power of its Enemies so curbed, that she may never lie at the Mercy of those, who, if they have but *Power*, are seldom at a loss for *Will* to ruin Her.

But let the present *Toleration* be what it will, I think myself obliged to give no publick or private disturbance by censuring the Wisdom and Power of the Magistrate. I shall, rather than *cry it down*, *wonder at it*; and much more at the Prelates, who so warmly declared themselves in its Favour; (when Seven in a late Reign declared themselves, with all due Submission to the King, against it, and courageously suffer'd for that Declaration) and *I hope by God's Grace, that should I be questioned for this my Opinion, I should dissemble it as little* (as my Lord of ^e Lincoln in the reverse of it would do), *but should have the Courage honestly to own it; whatever I might chance to suffer for it.*

One of these Bishops seems to entertain a very favourable Opinion of Dissenters; for we have ^d him expressing himself thus in his Speech. "Can any of your Lordships believe, that a Presbyterian of the Church of *England*; professing more than ordinary Zeal for Episco-

^e Speech, p 16.

^d Norwich, p. 25.

" pacy, and the Constitution of this Church, should be-
 " flow such Language (of false Son of the Church and per-
 " fidicus Prelate) on one (Archbishop Grindall) who was
 " the first Bishop and the Ornament of it so long, only for
 " disposing that glorious Queen to a mild Treatment of the
 " Puritans of that Time, which is the * utmost that is pre-
 " tended

* *There is another thing laid to that Archbishop's Charge, that he intro-
 duced a sort of Exercise call'd Prophesying, which the Queen thought fit
 to suppress by a Letter to the Bishops, dated 1577. May 7. straitly
 charging them that they charge the same forthwith to cease, and not
 to be used. And her Reasons are inserted in her Letter — That no
 small number of Persons presumed to teach and preach, not lawfully
 thereunto call'd, putting in execution sundry new Rites and Forms
 in the Church by their Preaching, Readings and Ministering the Sacra-
 ments; whence there insued new devised Opinions upon Points of
 Divinity, and a great Abuse by the reason of the foresaid Assemblies
 call'd Exercises. Archbishop Grindal refused to comply with the Queens
 Injunctions, and is suspended for it, as appears by his Letter to the Council
 to intercede with the Queen, dated 1577. Nov. 29. wherein are these words.
 — And whereas I have sustained the restraint of my Liberty and the Se-
 questration of my Jurisdiction now by the space of six Months, I am so
 far from repining thereat, or thinking my self injuriously or hardly
 dealt withal therein at Her Majesty's hands, that I do thankfully im-
 brace and frankly with all Humility acknowledge her Princely and
 gracious Care and Clemency towards me, who having Authority and
 Power to have used greater and sharper Severity against me, and for
 good Policy and Example thinking it so expedient, has notwithstanding
 dealt so mercifully, mildly and gently by me. In this Letter
 the Archbishop pleadeth Conscience for not obeying the Queens Injunctions,
 as he does likewise in a Letter to her, written 1576. Dec. 20.
 wherein he justifies (as well and as earnestly as he can) the use of those
 Exercises; and lays before her these two Considerations; 1. That for
 Duties in matters of Doctrine or Discipline of the Church, she should
 defer the decision of it to the Bishops and other head Ministers of the
 Church. 2. That in Religious Matters she should not pronounce quasi
 ex autoritate, as she may do in Civil Matters.*

*I shall never join with the Archbishop in this, that the Authority of the
 Queen was less in Ecclesiastical than Civil Matters. For as Sir Peter
 King in the Trial, (p. 83.) very well observes, The Queen is supreme
 over all Causes, and over all Persons as well Ecclesiastical as Civil: she
 has by Law a supreme controuling Power over all the Censures and Ex-
 communications of the Church, &c. Nay, the King or Queen has a
 greater Authority over the Ecclesiastical than the Civil in this point (if
 I be not mistaken) that the Parliament can deliberate of any thing with-
 out acquainting the King or Queen; but the Convocation can't consider but
 of what is allowed by their direction.*

“ tended to be laid to his Charge, if he had thought To
 “ leration a reasonable thing, or what was fit to be esta-
 “ blished by Law.

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If the Archbishop was innocent in this Case, as he in that Letter clears himself, and lays the blame upon the Queen with this mitigation, That her meaning and Zeal was for the best, as David's was when he commanded the People to be numbred, why should he in his Letter to the Council affirm, he was not hardly dealt with at Her Majesty's Hands?

It is urged in the Archbishop's behalf (Sacheverel's Trial, p. 82.) That the visible Cause of his Disgrace were those Exercises call'd Prophecyng, but that the true Reason (as Historians say) sprung from the Hatred of the Earl of Leicester, then in great Power and Credit with the Queen, and her great Favourite. Notwithstanding this (as Historians say) I'll certainly rather believe what the Queen professed, for, though her severities are complain'd of as the blackest and worst part of her Reign (Trial, Sir Peter King, p. 81. Mr. Cowper, p. 86.) yet I have yet no reason to think her so much a Hypocrite, as to pretend openly one Reason and secretly conceal another; a Hypocrite is ever a Coward, and that Queen did not act like one. Besides, if the Hatred of the Earl of Leicester was the true Reason, the Archbishop, who must needs know it, would (one might think) have taken some notice of it in that Letter wherein he uses so much Freedom and Liberty to reprove the Queen, that it is without a Parallel, and Gad's Reproof of David, though he was specially sent from God, hardly exceeds it.

Another thing I must not omit, that the Archbishop writes to the Queen that in Matters of Discipline, she must defer the decision of it to the Bishops and Ministers. And if the Queen must do it, why should not he? And how durst he upon his private Authority, and without an Order of Convocation, make any Innovation in the Church, though it were never so much for its good?

Again, I have lately made this Observation, that those who most commend Archbishop Grindal and run down Archbishop Laud in common Conversation, are generally either Dissenters or such who are not zealous for the Doctrine and Ceremonies of the Church of England: From which I infer, that it is not very probable, that the one was a Confessor, and the other a Martyr for the same Cause; since they who excuse and extol the one, seem very prone to accuse and impeach the other: And the very same Men inveigh bitterly against the necessary Restraints used towards contumacious Non-conformists, and extenuate the barbarous Severities exercised towards conscientious Church-men.

Then I shall hardly be brought to believe that Queen Elizabeth, a Princess of too great a Soul than to be led by the Nose by any assuming Favourite, would have been influenced to continue notwithstanding such application made to her for Forgiveness, under suspension the Primate of her Clergy raised by her self to that Dignity, unless she suspected him faulty in his Zeal for that Church, in whose Reformation she bore so great a part,

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The Words of the other Bishop in his Speech ^f are these:
 “ His meaning is plainly this : that the Dissenters, whom
 “ we are so foolish as to indulge, were a parcel of false
 “ and treacherous Persons, Enemies both to our Church and
 “ State; and such as if not timely suppressed, will con-
 “ vince us to our Sorrow of the Weakness and Folly of ta-
 “ king such Vipers into our Bosom, as watch only for a fair
 “ Opportunity to sting us to Death. ——— The Preacher
 “ complains that Queen *Elizabeth* was deluded by Arch-
 “ bishop *Grindall* to the Toleration of the *Genevian* Dis-
 “ cipline; and that she, like a Queen of true Resolu-
 “ tion and pious Zeal for Monarchy and Hierarchy, pro-
 “ nounced that such were the restless Spirits of that fa-
 “ ctious People, that no quiet was to be expected from
 “ them, till they were utterly suppressed. What Applica-
 tion this Bishop makes ^g of the Preacher’s Words to his preju-
 dice; and how unreasonable it is; and how little he shews
 himself (^h whatever he may profess) willing to come into
 any measures of Favour to the Preacher, by stretching his
 Words through an odious Parallel to cast a very scurvy
 Reflection upon the present Times; I shall not examine
 (tho’ in the mean time ’tis very hard that Queen *Elizabeth*
 must not be commended, nor, may be, the Rebels of 42
 censured, without being guilty of reflecting on several
 Actions since); but yet I hope ’tis but Justice, that since his
Lordship thus applies other Men’s Words, his and his Bro-
 ther’s Words may be applied also to what they have so near
 a relation: *Viz.* That they are of Opinion, that Arch-
 bishop *Grindall* acted like a true Son of the Church by
 disposing Queen *Elizabeth* to a mild Treatment of the Puri-
 tans, and to the Toleration of the *Genevian* Discipline; and
 that the Dissenters are not false and treacherous Persons, no
 Enemies to our Church and State, very good People, nei-
 ther restless, nor factious; and that (as a Token of their

part, and he had also his share. A true zealous Church-man could not be
 thus persecuted by a Princess, who was so zealous for the Church, as to
 be guilty of such Severities against those who dissented from it; which Seve-
 rities in the Eyes of some, who have not so great a love for the Church, as
 that blessed Princess had, blackned the Glory of her Reign; though upon a
 farther and more serious Consideration of the Matter, those revilers of Ma-
 jesty will not wash their Guilt ever the more for endeavouring to asperse
 that Maiden Queen’s spotless Innocence:

^f P. 12, 13.

^g P. 14.

^h P. 20.

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compliance) : several Men of " Sobriety and Learning bred
 " up to be Ministers among the Dissenters have left the Se-
 " paration, and upon due Trial have been admitted to
 " Orders in our Church ; in which they have officiated
 " with entire Conformity to our Rules, and to the Honour
 " of our Holy Religion ; and that therefore the Church
 " has receiv'd Advantage as well as Credit from that Mo-
 " deration which gave way to the Indulgence. And his
 Lordship of *Norwich* saith, " He could give several Instances
 " of this within his own Observation, while he was Arch-
 " Deacon under a Reverend Prelate, and since he has had
 " the Honour to sit on that Bench. Thus his Lordship has
 made out what the Author of the High-Church-Catechism
 saith in the Preface to that scandalous Book ; " We see that
 " in all Places where there is a Moderate, or, in other words,
 " a Low Church-Minister, his gentle and Christian Beha-
 " viour by degrees wins the Dissenters over to the Church ;
 " but if he be succeeded by a High-Church-man, his bitter
 " uncharitable Invectives and unchristian Conduct drives
 " Men from the Church, and soon occasions the Meeting-
 " House to be filled again. Notwithstanding, (may'nt it
 displease my Lord the Bishop, and Mr. Author of the High-
 Church-Catechism) I (tho' but a poor mean Lay-man)
 have in my low Station and narrow Acquaintance seen
 many a Dissenter won over to our Church by those, who
 are now reviled under the Name of High-Church-men.
 And I besides, in a direct opposition to both the foresaid
 Bishops kind Inclinations towards the Dissenters, and yet
 with as much Christian Charity and good Wishes, as both
 they, for their Conversion from Schism to the Fold and
 Bosom of the Church, own my Opinion, that the Genera-
 lity of them are Enemies to the Church, and no Friends to
 the State ; that they have from the beginning made Incroach-
 ments ; and tho' Methods have from time to time been used
 for their Reconciliation, yet they do still persevere in their
 Schism ; and the conclusion, which I must make naturally
 from all this, is, that I can't in Conscience heartily rejoice
 to see them have any large Concessions, whereby they may
 be enabled to undermine Church or State. The Premises,
 upon which I build my Conclusion, will (I hope) not be
 denied, when I have represented, what Temper they are of.
 I'll begin with Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and bring part of

a Letter of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, one of the wisest and most virtuous Ministers these latter Ages have produced, as Bishop Burnet characteriseth him, and has also inserted that Letter in the close of his History of the Reformation.

Sir *Francis* having written concerning the Proceedings against the Papists, goes on thus. " For the other Party, which have been offensive to the State, though in another degree, which named themselves Reformers and we commonly call *Puritans*, this has been the Proceeding towards them: A great while, when they inveighed against such Abuses in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-residence, and the like, their Zeal was not condemned, only their Violence was sometimes censured. When they refused the use of some Ceremonies and Rites, as superstitious, they were tolerated with much connivancy and gentleness; yea, when they called in question the superiority of Bishops, and pretended to a Democracy in the Church; yet their Propositions were here considered, and by contrary Writings debated and discussed. Yet all this while, it was perceived that their Course was dangerous, and very popular; as because Papistry was odious, theretofore it was ever in their Mouths, that they sought to purge the Church from the Reliques of Papistry, a thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one extreme to another. " Because multitude of Rogues, and Poverty was an Eyesore and a dislike to every Man, therefore they put into the People's head, that if Discipline were planted, there should be no Vagabonds nor Beggars, a thing very plausible: and in like manner they promised the People many of the impossible Wonders of their Discipline; besides, they opened to the People a way to Government, by their Consistory and Presbytery; a thing, though in consequence no less prejudicial to the Liberties of private Men, than to the Sovereignty of Princes; yet in first shew very popular. Nevertheless this, except it were in some few that entred into extreme Contempt, was born with, because they pretended in dutiful manner to make Propositions, and to leave it to the Providence of God, and the Authority of the Magistrate. But now of late Years when there issued from them that affirmed, the Consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when under Pretence of a Confession, to avoid Slander and Imputations, they combined themselves by Classes and Subscriptions, when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the

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“ the Government of the Church, by ridiculous Pasquils;
 “ when they began to make many Subjects in doubt to take
 “ the Oaths, which is one of the Fundamental parts of Justice in this Land, and in all Places; when they began
 “ both to vaunt of their Strength, and number of their Partizans and Followers, and to use Combinations that their
 “ Cause would prevail, through Uproar and Violence, then
 “ it appeared to be no more Zeal, no more Conscience, but
 “ mere Faction and Division: And therefore though the
 “ State were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to
 “ restrain them, than before, yet was it with as great Moderation, as the Peace of the State, or the Church, could
 “ permit. And therefore, Sir, to conclude, consider uprightly of these Matters, and you shall see, her Majesty
 “ is no more a temporizer in Religion: It is not the Success abroad, nor the Change of her Servants here at home,
 “ can alter her; only as the things themselves alter, she applied her religious Wisdom to Methods correspondent unto them;
 “ still retaining the two Rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with Consciences, and yet in discovering
 “ Faction from Conscience, and Softness from Singularity.

This was the Temper of the Dissenters in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; and I don't find by what I have brought before (pag. 5.) from Bishop *Burnet's* Preface, that they were much mended in the Year 1681. What Concessions have been made to satisfy their Scruples and sweeten the sourness of their disposition, in order to reconcile them to the Church, is sufficiently declared in the Preface to the Common-Prayer-Book; and what little effect it has hitherto had upon them, let any one guess by the numbers of their Party and their Abettors; I have added, their Abettors; for if our Churches could be rid of that Vermin (and I wish they were) and send it over to them, they would (may be) without the help of a Rabble pull down their Meeting-Houses, (as the Covetous Man his Barnes) to build larger.

I freely own my self not to be one of those, * who think that the part of the great and glorious *Elizabeth's* Reign, wherein the wholesome Severities against the Dissenters were used, is so black and bad as to need any Veil to be cast over it; and I can't but suspect that they, who complain of those Severities, are of the same Temper and Principles with them, who disturbed the Reign of that noble Princess, and;

had they lived under her Government, would have deserved no Thanks from her, for their Favour and Respect to her sworn Foes. I protest I am amazed how Men can, not within the ¹ distance of seven or eight Pages, but almost within ^m one Breath, or within one or ⁿ two, or three contiguous Sentences, say, that *they would not be thought to reflect on the Memory of that glorious Queen*, and at the same time confess there were these Spots and Blemishes in her Reign, permitted by God's Providence for wise Ends and Purposes : How Men can represent any time of the Reign of a dead Queen Black, (a Queen, whose Memory has been had in the highest Esteem and Veneration by all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, and amongst us from that time down till the latter end of February and beginning of March last past) and yet think it very immoral to cast Reflections upon the dead, how ill soever they may have deserved from us. 'Tis well that the Censurers of crowned Heads will freely own, that he whose Morals will permit him to reflect upon a departed Archbishop, is not therefore to be impeached for it, as for an High Crime and Misdemeanour ; else I know not why they, who reflect upon a departed Queen, should be accounted guiltless. For my part, I shall never be very prone to call publicly a dead Prelate *perfidious*, unless he were very notoriously guilty of *perfidiousness* : yet I can't help thinking any part of a Prelate's Life the *blacker* and the *worse*, for being so hotly and industriously justified by Men, who can find fault with a Queen, for being severe against them who were Enemies to her Government, and who misrepresent her Opinion, as a ^o favourer of Subjects resisting against their Sovereign ; who reflect upon the Reign of King Charles the Second, by affirming, [^p that the Doctrine of unlimited, unconditional Passive Obedience, was first invented to support Arbitrary and Despotick Power, and was never promoted or countenanced by any Government that had not designs sometime or other of making use of it]. An Act in the 14th of Ch. II. required Persons to declare that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King. And if from thence I should, upon the grant of the first of these Premises, infer, that the Government and King Charles the Second, by promoting or countenancing unlimited Passive Obedience, had a design some time or other to make use of an Ar-

¹ Trial, p. 307.

^m P. 290.

ⁿ P. 86.

^o Trial, p. 260. Bishops of Sarum and Oxfords Speeches.

^p Trial, p. 62.

bitrary and Despotick Power, I think I should be guilty of a very scurvy Reflection upon that Reign. That Parliament, which passed that Act, was made of a ^a *House of Commons*, who were Guardians of the Constitution and Liberties of the People; and of a House of Lords, who were Guardians of the Constitution of the People (for some Men will not allow the Lords, but only the Commons, to be the Guardians of both); and if such an Act, by any Clause of it, supported Despotick Power, as by the former Proposition it must follow, then that Parliament will lie under the Scandal of betraying their Guardianship. Now I would put the Case to the ^b Gentleman of the Long Robe, who so well understands the Case *De Libellis Famosis*, whether it is not as Criminal to traduce and scandalize a Parliament as a dead Archbishop? However, my Opinion is, that they who with so pressing an earnestness plead for Archbishop Grindal, and can't afford to excuse a Queen's securing her self against restless Subjects, are not a whit the better Friends to Episcopacy or Monarchy: For the Dissenters in her Time (as shall be proved) were ^c *dangerous to the Monarchy as well as the Hierarchy*; and I am so heartily devoted to both, that nothing would reconcile me more to a *Toleration*, than to hear, and (if I could) believe what a noble Lord said, ^d *That by this Toleration the Prejudices of the Dissenters in general wear off, and their Number daily decreaseth*: And what a ^e Reverend Prelate declares he is verily persuaded of, *that the Church is so far from having been hurt by this Indulgence, that it has received Advantage as well as Credit from that Moderation which gave way to it. I could give (addeth he) several Instances of this within my own Observation, while I was Arch-deacon, under a Reverend Prelate that sits now before me; and since I have had the Honour to be on this Bench: In which compass of time several Men of Sobriety and Learning bred up to be Ministers among the Dissenters, have left the Separation, and upon due trial have been admitted to Orders in our Church; in which they have officiated with entire conformity to our Rules, and to the Honour of our Holy Religion. These Instances have been frequent and remarkable since the Dissenters have been exempted from the Penalties of certain Laws, above what had been observed before. I have here repeated this Bishop's Words, that it may appear, how much our Church is indebted to his Lordship for making (tho' his Modesty*

^a Trial, P. 76, 77. ^b P. 109. ^c P. 296. ^d Trial, fol. 83. p. 2.

^e Norwich's Speech, p. 28, 29.

declineth the Praise due to such a Work) so many Dissenters as good Church-men as himself. I now return to the Patrons or Council of Archbishop *Grindall* against the Severities of Queen *Elizabeth*; whose Concern (as a * Pre-
late, who is very likely to have known their meaning, as some * of them do his, rightly observes) was not for his *Person*. And since that Prelate thinks fit to leave us in the dark, and not to tell us, what thing in this Archbishop their Concern was for, I humbly conceive that their Concern might perhaps be for the Archbishop's good Will towards Toleration. If good Will towards a bare Toleration was all that is laid to his charge, God forbid I should call or but think him *Perfidious*. Yet I find my self more inclinable to think well of Queen *Elizabeth* for suspending him, than of him for giving her such an occasion to do it. I hope I may commend even the Severities of that Queen, when they were not only wholesome but necessary. † " It
" were indeed to be wished, that a Government could be
" supported by Mildness and Clemency, but such is the
" State of depraved Nature, even these most moderate Na-
" tures, that they are not contented to be only ungrateful
" for the Benefits they enjoy from the Church and State,
" but they must rebel out of Moderation-Principles, and
" fly in the Face of that Government from which they re-
" ceive their Support and Protection. These Men of mode-
" rate Natures, " ‡ when they intend to unhinge a Govern-
" ment, don't act openly and plainly. No, they cover
" their Designs even from those they are to draw in; they
" pretend Zeal for Religion, insinuate themselves by de-
" grees, not shock the People at first with a Declaration
" against the Government, but even pretend Zeal for the
" Government; dark Phrases are studied in their Discourse,
" Perplexity of Expression, between saying what rancour
" will not let them with-hold, and with-holding what
" their fear will not let them speak out. Schemes of Speech
" are contrived with two meanings, the one more obvious
" and plain, and the other a reserve.

These Arts, this Pharisaical Zeal for Religion, brought King *Charles* the First to his Martyrdom, and what (had not they been suppressed) they would have brought Queen *Elizabeth* to, let any one guess; and we may thank God they had not their end, else the Church of *England*, which

* *Lincoln's Speech*, p. 13.

‡ *Trial*, p. 262.

† P. 92.

‡ P. 315.

that Queen was so studious to establish, might have had hers.

In order to prove what I have advanced in the Justification of Queen *Elizabeth's* wholesome Severities, I'll give an account of the Puritans and other Sectaries, against whom they were enacted. Neither shall I much matter the Censures of those, who, if a dead Person, whom they like not, be commended, cry out immediately, 'tis an odious Parallel, 'tis a Reflexion on the Living; tho' they at the same time for a while flatter the Living by censuring the Dead, till they have an opportunity of discovering their Design, and letting the World know at last, that the Intention of their Flattery at first was but to wound the Living through the sides of the Dead. Many concealed Rebels serve their Sovereign, as the *Roman* Soldiers did our Saviour; they bow the Knee, before they crucify; they put the Reed, a Mock-Scepter (and Majesty which deriveth its Original from the People is but Mock-Majesty) in his right-hand, that they may with it smite him on the Head.

Such a Mock-Majesty would the Rebellious House of Commons *An. 1656.*) have conferred on their Protector *Cromwell*; and 'tis worth observing, how those Men, tho' they professed their utter abhorrence of Tyrants, yet conceived Monarchy to be a better Establishment than a Common-wealth; and, after having driven the Real or *Jure*-King away, attempted to set up a Nominal or *Facto*-one.

Thus the Heathen maketh his God, and then worships him; and those King-makers, however averse they were to Popish Idolatry, would have brought Idolatry into the State, if *Cromwell* (having, according to his Hypocritical Politick way, resorted to God for Counsel) had not concluded, that he could not with a good Conscience accept the Government under the Title of a King. How nice a Casuist is a scrupulous Conscience! It never startled at turning a poor Prince, the Son of a murdered Father, out of his Inheritance, but was resolved ne'er to be guilty of robbing him of his *Hereditary Title*; which was of a very little force to its lawful Owner against two *Instruments of Government*, whereby *Cromwell* by that monstrous Parliament was installed and inaugurated into his Protectorship, with a Sword and Sceptre; *there being little wanting to a perfect formal Coronation but a Crown and an Archbishop.* Mitre and

* Clarend. *Hist.* lib. 15.

b Clarend. *Hist.* lib. 14, 15.

c Clarend. *Hist.* lib. 15.

Crown have for the most part the luck of being opposed by the same Set of Men; who never bring a *Democracy* into the *State*, but they bring one also into the *Church*; and by it introduce Confusion into the first, and a *total Subversion* of the last.

I shall now (as I promised) relate out of Mr. *Cambden's*, and in his own words, what Queen *Elizabeth* did against the *Sectaries*, and how she was provoked to it by them.

“ Ann. 1560. *Elizabetha* — Ut *Ecclesia* incorrupta per-
 “ stare atque propagaretur, & *Respublica* gloriâ & opibus
 “ magis floreret, duo salutaria [*wholesom*] *Edicta* promul-
 “ gavit. Altero *Anabaptistas* & id genus *Hæreticos*, qui
 “ in maritima *Angliæ* oppida ex transmarinis regionibus
 “ specie declinandæ persecutionis convolârunt, & sectari-
 “ um virus in *Angliâ* sparserant, è regno intrâ viginti dies
 “ excedere imperavit, sive illi indigenæ sive exteri, sub
 “ poenâ incarcerationis & bonorum amissionis. Altero
 “ sacrilegum hominum genus coercuit, qui superstitionis
 “ tollendæ obtentu antiqua sepulchra demoliri, epitaphia
 “ & digmata clarissimarum familiarum, cæteraque vene-
 “ randæ antiquitatis monumenta, quæ prophanorum furori
 “ sub *Henrico Octavo*, & *Edwardo Sexto* supererant, denuo
 “ delere, campanas è templis tollere, & templorum tecta
 “ plumbo devestire cœperunt.

“ Ann. 1568. — *Colemanus*, *Burtonus*, *Hallinghamus*,
 “ *Bensonus* & alii, qui sinceriorem religionem ardenti cum
 “ zelo professi, nihil nisi quod è sacrarum literarum fonti-
 “ bus haustum probârunt, sive ex purioris disciplinæ, novi-
 “ tatis, aut dissensionis studio, receptam *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*
 “ disciplinam, *Liturgiam*, *Episcoporum* vocationem in
 “ quæstionem palam vocârunt, imò damnârunt, ut quæ *Romanam*
 “ *Religionem* plus nimio sapiant, quâcum habere
 “ aliquid commune, impium esse declamitârunt; omnia
 “ versantes, ut ad *Genevensis Ecclesiæ* amussim singula in
 “ *Ecclesiâ Anglicâ* reformarentur. Hos quanquam *Regina*
 “ in custodiam dari jusserit, incredibile tamen est, quantum
 “ consectanei, qui invidioso *Puritanorum* nomine statim
 “ innotescere cœperunt, obstinatâ quâdam pervicacia, *Episcoporum*
 “ vecordiâ, & occulto quorundam nobilium
 “ *Ecclesiæ* opibus inhiantium favore, ubique succre-
 “ rint.

^d The Historian thinks not convenient to name those Bishops. And I may (if not affirm, yet) question whether Dr. Grindal, then Bishop of London, was one of them.

“ Ann. 1571. Salutaribus legibus coercetur aliorum pe-
 “ tulantia, qui Articulis Synodi Londinensis ad Schismata
 “ tollenda Anno 1562, sancitis studio novandi se opposu-
 “ erunt.

“ Ann. 1573. Plurimum molestiæ & Reginæ & Ecclesia-
 “ stico ordini facefferunt nonnulli ex ipsorum numero, quī
 “ zelo fervidi & nihil nisi puritatem Evangelicam spirantes,
 “ non solū Politiam Ecclesiasticam (ut Romanā facu-
 “ lentiā impuram) quā publicè, quā privatim concio-
 “ nando (etiam libros edendo, quos *admonitionem ad Parla-*
 “ *mentum* & *admonitionis Apologiam* inscripserunt) in calum-
 “ niam rapuerunt: Sed etiam sacra recepta adire recusa-
 “ runt, aliōsque sibi cultūs divini ritus efformarunt atque
 “ usurparunt. Adeo ut Regina istos tanquam homines in-
 “ quieto ingenio, novitatis avidos, & ad bene instituta con-
 “ vellenda paratissimos improbens, ad Schisma præverten-
 “ dum severitatem *legis de uniformitate publicarum precum* ubi-
 “ que adhiberi mandaverit. Libellōsque istos Episcopis, aut
 “ alicui è consiliariis Regiis in manus, sub poenā incarce-
 “ rationis tradi, etsi Johannes Whitgiftus, qui postea Ar-
 “ chiepiscopus Cantuariensis, eosdem solidè confutasset.

“ Ann. 1580. Nec solū hi perfidi cives (ex Pontificiā
 “ factione) sed etiam advenæ ex Hollandiā (feraci Hære-
 “ ticornum provinciā) per id temporis pacem Ecclesiæ & Rei-
 “ publicæ Anglicanæ turbare cœperunt, qui in imperitum
 “ vulgus singularis integritatis & Sanctitatis specie se insinu-
 “ arunt, & deinde damnatas Hæreses fidei Christianæ a-
 “ pertè adversantes in animos instillarunt, portentoso &
 “ novo loquendi genere, à Christianā professione alienissimo,
 “ quod homines potius mirarentur quàm intelligerent. Hi
 “ è familiā amoris sive domicilio charitatis se nominârunt.
 “ Sæctatoribus persuaserunt solos in illam familiam adscitos
 “ electos esse & salvandos, reliquos omnes reprobos & dam-
 “ nandos; illisque licitum esse negare jurejurando quicquid
 “ lubet coram Magistratu, aut quovis alio, qui non sit ex
 “ ipsorum familiā. Hujus Fanaticæ vanitatis Libellos è
 “ linguā Belgicā in Anglicam conversos inter sæctatores dis-
 “ perferunt, quibus titulos fecerunt *Evangelium Regni, sen-*
 “ *tentias documentales, Prophetiam spiritūs amoris, Pacis super*
 “ *terram publicationem, Authore H. N.* Nomen Authoris ut
 “ efferrent, induci non poterant, fuisse tamen Henricum
 “ Nicholai è Lugduno Batavorum postea compertum, qui
 “ se Dei, Deūque suæ humanitatis esse participem blasphemo
 “ ore prædicavit. Ad hos maturè ex lege comprimendos
 “ edixit

“ edixit Regina, quandoquidem Religio sit prima Principi-
 “ pum cura, ut civiles Magistratus Ecclesiasticis adessent,
 “ & libri isti igni traderentur.

“ Ann. 1581. Liber editus & inscriptus *Vorago quâ Anglia Gallico connubio absorbenda*, in quo consilarii qui nuptiis faverunt, quasi ingrati in patriam & Principem, fugilantur, ipsa Regina, inter medias * adulationes, quasi sui dissimilis, obliquâ insectatione perstringitur, Andinus convitiis indignis dilaceratur, Gallica natio odiosè profcinditur. — Nec persuaderi voluit Regina, authorem Libri sibi aliud proposuisse, quàm ut subditorum odium in ipsam concitaret. — Jam indè Puritanis sive Novatoribus paulò infensior esse cœpit, à quibus hæc profluxisse faciliè credidit; & post pauculos sanè dies, Johannes Stubbus ex Lincolnienfi Juris Collegio fervidus Religionis Professor (cujus sororem Thomas Cartwrightus inter Puritanos antesignanus duxerat) hujus libelli author, Gulielmus Pageus qui exemplaria dispersit, & Singletonus Typographus apprehensi. In hos sententia lata, ut dextræ præciderentur, ex lege Philippi & Mariæ *contra seditiosorum scriptorum authores & disseminatores*. Quamvis sententiam fuisse erroneam & irritam ex falsâ notatione temporis, quo lex illa lata, legemque fuisse temporariam & (Mariâ moriente) unâ interiisse Jurisperiti nonnulli obmurmurarent. E quibus Daltonus, qui hoc clamitabat, in carcerem datus, & Monsonus in *communium Placitorum* foro Judex ita verbis asperis exagitatus, ut loco cesserit; cum Wraius summus Angliæ Justitiarius in temporis notatione errorem fuisse nullum, & ex legis Verbis docuisset, legem in eos, qui Regem seditioso scripto violabunt, sancitam esse, Regemque Angliæ nunquam intermori: imò legem illam Anno primo Elizabethæ ad ejus vitam & hæredum ex corpore revocatam fuisse. Indè ad pegma in rerum venalium foro Westmonasterii Stubbo & Pageo dextræ cultro laniario vi mallei in carpum adacto præciduntur. Typographo autem parcitur.

“ Edmundus Campianus è Societate Jesu, Radulphus Sherwinus, Lucas Kirbius, Alexander Briantus sacerdotes accusati Reginæ Regnóque perniciem struxisse, cum pervicaciter Papalem contra Reginam auctoritatem defenderent, extremo supplicio affecti. — Postea & alii

* It is still the Custom of some Men in our Days to flatter, and yet obliquely abuse a Prince at the same time, and in the same Breath.

“ nonnulli morte iisdem de causis mulctati — Eiusmo-
 “ di certè hæc tempora fuerunt, ut Regina, quæ viam con-
 “ scientiis afferendam nunquam censuit, subinde quereretur
 “ se ad hæc necessario adactam fuisse, nisi sub quæsito Con-
 “ scientiæ & Catholicæ Religionis prætextu sibi & subditis
 “ perniciem inferri maluisset.

“ An. 1583. successit [Edm. Grindallo] Johannes Whit-
 “ giftus — Huic Regina (quæ ut in Politicis, ita & in
 “ legibus Ecclesiasticis nihil unquam laxandum censuit)
 “ mandavit, ut ante omnia disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglica-
 “ næ & uniformitatem in sacris autoritate Parliamentariâ
 “ sancitam restauraret, quæ^f Præsulum conniventia, nova-
 “ torum pervicaciâ, & nobilium quorundum potentiâ luxa-
 “ ta jacuit, dum quidam è ministris regiam in Ecclesiasticis
 “ autoritatem rectè impugnarent, Sacramentorum admi-
 “ nistrationem à verbi prædicatione sejungerent, novos ritus
 “ pro arbitrio in privatis ædibus usurparent, Liturgiam,
 “ Sacramentorum administrationem constitutam, ut sacris
 “ literis in quibusdam contraria, & Episcoporum vocatio-
 “ nem omnino damnarent, ideòq; templa adire recusarent,
 “ & planè schisma facerent, Pontificiis^e plaudentibus,
 “ multòsq; in suas partes pertrahentibus, quasi nulla esset
 “ in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ unitas. Ad hæc tollenda & uni-
 “ tatem reducendam ille hos Articulos à ministris subscri-
 “ bendorum proposuit. Primum, Reginam summam & su-
 “ premam potestatem in omnes intra sua Regna natos cu-
 “ juscunq; sunt conditionis habere, &c. Secundum, librum
 “ precum publicarum, & alterum de Episcopis & Sacerdo-
 “ tibus ordinandis nihil verbo Dei contrarium continere,
 “ sed posse legitimè usurpari; quòdq; illâ & non aliâ vel
 “ Precum vel Sacramentorum administrandi formulâ ute-
 “ rentur. Tertium, Articulos Synodi Londinensis 1562.
 “ Regiâ autoritate publicatos approbarent, & eosdem ver-
 “ bo Dei consonos crederent. Incredibile est, quantum
 “ hinc controversiarum & disputationum exortum, quantum

^f Will not this reflect on Whitgift's Predecessor, that the Bishops should connive at the neglect of Uniformity, when the Archbishop ought to have stirr'd them up to take care of it? 'Tis certainly no commendation to Archbishop Grindall to have left the Church in such a condition (as is here described) to his Successor.

^e Thus the Papists clap most, when the Sectaries add their Parts: and these Brethren in Iniquity ever appeared together to pestler this Queen's Reign.

ille odium, quantum convitiarum à ministris factiosis, &
 quantum molestiarum, imò & injuriarum à Nobilibus
 qui promovendo minùs idoneos in Ecclesiâ rem fecerunt,
 aut in Ecclesiâ bona spem extenderant, pertulerit. Con-
 stantiâ tamen, fortitudine, & patientiâ tandem evicit, &
 Ecclesiâ pacem restituit, ut non temerè pro symbolo usur-
 passe videretur, *Vincit qui patitur*. Nec hi solùm domi Ec-
 clesiam exagitarunt, sed etiam foras qui ex^h his prodie-
 runt, Robertus Brownus Cantabrigiensis in Theologiâ Tyro,
 à quo novi Sectarii *Brownistæ* dicti, & Richardus Harri-
 sonus è trivio pædagogus. Hi enim ex suo Spiritu de re
 religionis judicare ausi, libris hâc tempestate in Zelandiâ
 editis, & per Angliam dispersis, Ecclesiam Anglicanam
 quasi nullam damnârunt, multosq; novi Schismatis la-
 queis irretierunt; quamvis eorum libri Regiâ auctoritate
 prohibiti & ab eruditis nervosè confutati, unusq; & alter
 è Sectariis ad *S. Edmundi*, extremo supplicio affecti.
 An. 1588. Ut externo bello, ita etiam interno Schis-
 mate hâc tempore laboravit Anglia, (Schismaticaⁱ enim
 pravitas semper bello ardente maxime luxuria). Nec
 certe contumax in Ecclesiasticos Magistratus impudentia,
 & contumeliosa improbitas insolentiùs aliàs se exeruit.
 Etenim cum Regina quæ *semper eadem* novatores in Reli-
 gione audire noluerit, * quos Ecclesiasticæ administratio-
 nis & Regiæ Prærogativæ nervos succisuros existimavit;
 nonnulli ex his, qui Genevensis Ecclesiæ Disciplinam unice
 admirabantur, non aliam rationem constituendi eandem
 in Angliâ excogitari posse putârunt, quàm Anglicam Hie-
 rarchiam infectando, & Præsulibus invidiam apud popu-
 lum conflando. Hi itaq; & in Hierarchiam & in Præsules
 probrosis edictis Libellis, quibus tituli erant *Martinusⁱ Præ-*
sulibus exitiosus vel Præsulo-mastyx, Mineralia, Diotrephe,
Demonsratio Disciplina, &c. calumniis & convitiis viru-
 lentissimis adeo scurriliter debacchati sunt, ut authores non
 pietatis cultores sed è popinâ ganeones viderentur. Au-
 thores tamen *Penrius* & *Udallus* Verbi Ministri, & Jobus

^h *How spreading is this Contagion and Spawn of Schism, when Eng-
land was too little for it?*

ⁱ *This Aphorism of Camden holdeth not true now, if we believe some
Persons (see before, p. 67.); and I find no difference between those times
and ours but this, that now the Schismatics are, then they were not tole-
rated.* ^k *The Enemies of the Church are ever Enemies to Monarchy.*

^l *Marr-Prelat, or Priest-craft in Perfection.*

^m *Rights of the Christian Church.*

“ Throcmortonus vir doctus & facete dicax. Fautores Ri-
 “ chardus Knightleius & Wigftonus Equites aurati, viri alio-
 “ quin boni graves & prudentes (ⁿ sed à quibusdam Mini-
 “ stris sibi sapientibus circumventi) qui crimen gravi mulctâ
 “ in *Camerâ stellatâ* irrogatâ luissent, nisi Archiepiscopus
 “ Cantuariensis, quâ fuit ille lenitate, Reginam agre exo-
 “ rasset. Dum hi, inquam, calumniando viam ad illam
 “ *Disciplinam* præstruerent, alii consilii participes eandem per
 “ angulos spretâ legum authoritate, exercere cæperunt, Sy-
 “ nodos atq; classes certis locis habendo, & Presbyteria in-
 “ stituendo. Eoq; nomine in iudicium vocati erant Tho-
 “ mas *Cartwrightus*, Edmundus *Snaps*, Andreas *Kingus*,
 “ *Prodlous*, *Painus*, & alii Verbi Ministri, ad quos è Magi-
 “ stratum manibus liberandos præservidi quidam conspi-
 “ rârunt. Sed quanta fuerit horam petulantia, quam Ar-
 “ chiepiscopus suâ prudentiâ & patientiâ fregit, Ecclesiasti-
 “ co Historico cujus interest, relinquo.

“ An. 1591. Hackettus vir plebeius, illiteratus, insolens,
 “ ferox, ad vindictam adeo effusus, ut ingenuo Ludimagi-
 “ stro — nasum ° mordicus absciderit, & coram misero de-
 “ formi supplicante ut redderet, quo vulnere adhuc recente
 “ afflueretur, caninè devoraverit — quum rem cum uxore
 “ viduâ acceptam luxu prodegisset, admirandæ Sanctitatis
 “ personam derepente induit, totus erat in concionibus au-
 “ diendis, scripturis ediscendis; & revelationes nescio quas
 “ sibi cælitus factas, vocationemq; extraordinariam emen-
 “ tiendo insinuavit se quibusdam ^p Theologis qui *Presbyteria-*
 “ *lem Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Genevensis* in Angliam inducere
 “ zelo inflammato anhelabant; inter quos erat Wiggintonus
 “ Ministrellus siquis alius * cerebrosus & Magistratum con-
 “ temptor. Per hunc familiaris factus est Edmundo Co-
 “ pingero ex clarâ familiâ, qui etiam se * extraordinariè à
 “ Deo ad Ecclesiæ bonum vocatum, & rationem sibi cælitus
 “ patefactam perducendi * Reginam & Consiliarios ad men-
 “ tem meliorem, scilicet ad * disciplinam Genevensis ad-
 “ mittendam, primum sibi & deinde Arthingtono Discipuli-
 “ næ illius summo admiratori persuaserat, jam ipse à Mi-
 “ nistris

* It is very likely that Dean Atterbury's Viri boni & graves were thus imposed upon. ° Some Modern People of better Quality do it more genteely with a Glass, not with the Teeth, like Dogs.

° One may observe by this the true Spirit and Zeal of Presbyterianism.
 * A Fanatick always an Enemy to the Magistrate, and to Order, and an Admirer of things extraordinary, and a Reformer of Higher Powers into

“ nistris nonnullis edoctus Deum extraordinarios operarios
 “ in Ecclesiâ indies excitare. Et hœc quasi Spiritu exultans
 “ Hacketto lætanter impertiebat, qui simulatâ * sanctimo-
 “ niâ, incessanter & ferventissimè * extempore precando, * die
 “ Dominico jejunando, sæpius gloriando stigmata sibi à
 “ Satanâ fuisse inflicta, & eimentiendo revelationes, & cre-
 “ bra cum Deo colloquia — vaticinatus nullos jam indè
 “ Papas futuros & hœc anno Angliam fame, peste & bello
 “ gravissimè affligendam, nisi *Disciplina Domini* (itâ enim
 “ loquebatur) & *Reformatio* admitterentur. Ad hanc igitur
 “ inducendam conspirârunt (quod ex ipsorum literis depre-
 “ hensum) Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem & Cancellari-
 “ um^r, qui novatoribus se opposuerunt, prodicionis insimu-
 “ lare, eosdem & alios quosdam, si contra Ministros novato-
 “ res sententiam in *Camerâ Stellatâ* ferrent, è medio tollere,
 “ Rhythmis impressis multitudinem ad seditionem conciti-
 “ tare, in quibus inter alia affirmatur, licere Christiano vi-
 “ ro, etsi rusticolæ, Reges ad Sceptrum tractandum infor-
 “ mare, & ipsam Reginam, nisi *Reformationem* promoveret,
 “ folio deturbare. Hackettum immani in Reginam odio
 “ flagrâsse vel hinc constat, illam enim jure regni excidisse
 “ sæpius effutierat, & in insignia imaginemq; in tabulâ de-
 “ pictam pugione in pectus adacto furenter sævierat.
 “ Arthingtonus & Copingerus addiderunt Hackettum esse
 “ summum supremumq; Monarcham — Mox apprehensi,
 “ Regios Consiliarios & Magistratus — contemptim habue-
 “ runt — se omnibus Magistratibus superiores esse dictitan-
 “ tes. Hackettus postea læsæ Majestatis accusatus, se reum ag-
 “ novit, & blasphemè respondendo auditores horrore per-
 “ fudit : fortè an veteratoriè ut Judices in opinionem indu-
 “ ceret ipsum insanire, cum tamen reliquo gestu & compo-
 “ sitâ quâdam gravitate nihil insani præ se ferret. Damna-
 “ tus ad primarium urbis forum crati impositus trahitur —
 “ Ad patibulum monitus ut peccatum in Deum & Reginam

Geneva Discipline; a great Friend to Extempore-Prayers, to Sunday-
 Fasts (because the Primitive Christians never fasted on that day, and he
 is holier than any of them). ^a Imitator of Dominick, but with this
 difference, that the Popish Saint pretended to receive his Stigmata from
 Heaven, the Sectary from Hell.

^c It was looked upon then as a hard Case to be impeached of High Treason
 for opposing Innovations in the Church, and bringing the Innovators to
 condign Punishment.

^d The Observer and Review, and the
 Minister Novator of our Days chuse to do't in Prose.

“ agnosceret

“ agnosceret contumeliosè Reginam insectatus — excla-
 “ mavit — *Deus aterne, tu nosti me verum esse Jehovam*
 “ *quem misisti — me ab inimicis eripe. Sin minus* (horresco
 “ referens) *cælos inflammabo & te tuo throno his manibus detur-*
 “ *babo* — Hæc blasphemo ore evomenti gula laqueo fran-
 “ gitur — exenteratūq; membratim dissecatur. — Co-
 “ pingerus paulò post voluntariâ inediâ in carcere se confe-
 “ cit : Arthingtonus ad resipiscentiam reservatus edito li-
 “ bello serîd pœnituit. Nec hi soli sed etiam alii qui re-
 “ ceptam in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ disciplinam, Episcoporum
 “ vocationem damnando, & Præsules contumeliosè calum-
 “ niando hætenus frustra impugnârunt, nunc pertractis in
 “ eorum partes * nonnullis Juris Anglici peritis, in eorum
 “ jurisdictionem & delegatam à Reginâ in Ecclesiasticis cau-
 “ sis authoritatem ut prorsus injustam & linguas & calamos
 “ strinxerunt. — Regina haud ignara suam authoritatem
 “ per Episcoporum latera in hóc negotio peti, adversantium
 “ impetus tacitè infregit, & Ecclesiasticam jurisdictionem
 “ illæsam conservavit.

“ An. 1601. Essexius, cum Religio maxima sit animo-
 “ rum conciliatrix, Novatores eorumq; ministros, Reginæ
 “ minùs probatos, & * simul Pontificios, afflictam eorum
 “ fortunam miserando, allicere studet.

The Act in the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth* begins thus ;
 “ For the preventing and avoiding of such great Inconveni-
 “ encies and Perils as might happen, and grow by the wick-
 “ ed and dangerous Practices of seditious Sectaries and dis-
 “ loyal Persons.

I have here represented in the very Words and Language
 of that learned Historian, the Temper of the Sectaries
 throughout Queen *Elizabeth*'s whole Reign to have been most
 turbulent, seditious, and dangerous not only to the Church,
 but to the Civil Government ; not at all coming behind the
 Jesuits and Popish Priests in stirring up the Subjects against
 the Queen ; and whether Severities against Men of such per-
 nicious Principles and Practices can render any part of that
 Queen's Reign *black* ; or rather whether the Men, who have
 the face to call it *black* upon such a justifiable account, are

* *The Enemies of the Church never wanted Counsel to manage their Cause ; and I hope will never want a King or Queen to defeat their Management, and take upon them the Cause of the Church, which is so inseparable from their own.*

* *Sectaries and Papists ever join together in a Plot.*

not

not infinitely *black*er themselves, let the impartial Reader determine. As for the Men themselves, I wish them to repent, and live to be lasting Monuments of the matchless Mercy of an indulgent Government. The other part of Queen of *Elizabeth's* justification, in what relates to her assisting Subjects which rebelled against their Sovereign, shall be fully examined at the end of this Discourse.

I know that Queen *Elizabeth's* severities (though I think they need it not) have been excus'd^u, because Schism was then in its infancy, and might have been crush'd in the beginning, and its growing Inroad prevented. How formidable a Monster then is Schism, whose infancy withstood those^w severities, and which in spite of them grew to its full ripeness, and became strong and numerous, like the *Hydra's* heads! But in my judgment the Poison of Schism is so rank and hot, that there is but a very small space between its Birth and full Growth. It partaketh of the nature of Rebellion; those Twins were born at the same time and had but one Father; they act the same part, though not always upon the same Stage; for the Schismatick is a Church-Rebel, and a Rebel, a State-Schismatick. Let Schism therefore be tolerated, when and how far the Magistrate's Wisdom thinks expedient, as when of two Evils that which the Magistrate apprehends to be least is commonly to be chosen (and that indeed must be a very great Evil, where Schism is the least); still it is a contradiction to imagine, that Infant-Schism is less dangerous, because 'tis severely suppress'd, than full-grown Schism, because 'tis for (no doubt) very weighty Reasons tolerated. Some give this alleviation to Schism and the Dissenters, * that they are not Innovators in Matters of Faith, but differ only in Matters of Discipline. I must here (with all humble and intire Submission to the determination of the Church, in this and all other Cases) confess, that I am of another Opinion: I think that what is contained in the Apostle's Creed is *Matter of Faith*, and therefore so is the Belief of the *Holy Catholick Church*; and therefore an Error in the Belief of it is an Error in *Matter of Faith*. The Church can't be imagined without its *Ministry*; whosoever then erreth in the last, must also err in the first: Such are the Schismaticks, who affirm *Episcopacy to be a novel Doctrine, not sufficiently warranted by Scripture*. I desire in the mean time, not to be understood as if I call'd them

^u *Trial*, p. 289.

^w *P.* 290.

^{*} *P.* 284.

^y *false*

7 *false Brethren* ; I call none such, but he who being a Member of an Episcopal Church sides with those, who oppose Episcopacy.

Again, if any Member of our Church be ² *so weak as to fancy the Church, in any particular, not to be in the right, though in all others he would sincerely and constantly conform to it*, I think such an one (whatever a certain Person, reckoned by some as the Oracle of our Nation, may say to the contrary) to be a *Schismatick* in his Judgment, and (the Judgment commonly influencing the Will, the Will the Actions) is in a most ready way to be one in his Practice and Profession. Besides, the Error of his *schismatical Judgment* may be greater or less, according as the Particulars, in which his Judgment dissents from the Church, are of a greater or of a lesser Concern ; relating to the Constitution, as *Episcopacy* ; or to the Customs and Ceremonies, of which some are in themselves less indifferent, as the *Cross in Baptism*, the *Kneeling at the Communion* ; others more, as the *decent use of a certain sort of * Vestments*, rather than an other. And here I must not be misunderstood, for with regard to the Church, nothing is indifferent, which is enjoined by her to the Members of her Communion ; but with regard to the Nature of the things themselves, that is, as they conduce more or less to Instruction and Edification ; which by the 34th Article is declared to be the main End of, and Reason for ordaining, changing, or abolishing Rites or Ceremonies. In this the very Practice of the Church may and ought to be the Rule of our Judgment : as for Example, The Church in her several Reviews of the Liturgy, has never thought fit to take away the *Cross in Baptism*, or to change the Posture of *Kneeling at the Communion* ; but she has taken a greater freedom to alier the Use of some other Things, as of Vestures ; such as that of the ^a *white Vesture*, commonly call'd *Crisom* in Baptism, &c. Therefore as in the Judgment of the Church, so in that of her Members ; the Use of the first has been, and is to be esteemed less indifferent and more necessary, and with a greater Earnestness and Zeal to be contended for and retained, than that of the last. Lastly, He, who by the in-

¹ Trial, p. 78.

² P. 102.

* God, the Lord of our Souls and Bodies, requires an external as well as an internal Worship : and the setting apart of some Habits no less than of Persons, Places, and Times, is necessary for the decent Celebration of that Worship : But the Church may appoint those Habits, and change one for another, as she thinks more proper.

^a Common-Prayer-Book, 1549.

ward Light of his private Judgment thinks the Church in one the least particular not to be in the Right, may as well doubt her Credit in *another*; and in time, by the misleading of that false Light turn *Sceptick* in, and reject *all* the rest. Then a private Judgment is commonly attended with this unhappiness, that it is stubborn, self-will'd, and prone to pervert and wrest the very Scriptures: For as the Papist maketh the Church, so the Fanatick maketh himself the supreme and absolute Judge of God's Word. Therefore I will choose to think our Church not to err in any particular, and the forementioned Oracle to err in some, especially when he steps out of his Road and handles the Gospel instead of the Law: As for instance, ^b 'Tis true that St. Paul, *Ephes.* 4. 27. mentions there none but the Devil, to whom place must not be given; yet by no Logick-Syllogism, which this Person ^c has so excellent a Talent in, will it follow, that there is nothing else to which we must not give place: because the same Apostle by his Example (*Gal.* 2. 5.) teaches us not to give place not for an Hour to false Brethren, who come in as Spies to bring us into Bondage: For ^d *ἐκείνῳ* in the last is and is translated the same with *διδόναι τόπον* in the first. And therefore I'll give him the same Choice he gives ^e the Doctor (in his mistake about *Elisha* and his Servant), *What this proceeded from, whether from his not knowing the other passage, or from his resolution knowingly to suppress it.*

I shall not pronounce the Dissenters ^f *Traitors to the State*, merely because they affirm *Episcopacy to be a novel Doctrine*, &c. but I dare maintain, that a Friend to *Episcopacy* will make the most Loyal Man, and he who explodes it as a *novel Doctrine*, will be but too prone to plead the *Antiquity* of the Law of Nature and the Rights of a Subject, in opposition to the Authority of the Higher Powers.

^g The Laws concerning Obedience, both Human and Divine, are so very express and positive; the Duty is so pressed by Homilies and Fathers dead and living; that all manner of shifts are made, no Stone left unturned, no Scripture left unwrested to free Man's Conscience from that *absolute Obligation*; and to prove it does not follow that, because the Duty is expressed in General Terms, therefore there may be no exceptions from these General Rules. And I

^b *Trial*, p. 107.

^c *P.* 307.

^d *Hesych.* *Εἰσεῖς, δότε χάριν.*

^e *P.* 283.

^f *Trial*, p. 107.

^g *P.* 59.

very readily grant, that there is no Law or Rule so General, but what may admit of some Exception; but no Exception is valid, but what the Lawgiver has either expressed, or implied in the words of the Law. An Instance is given by the *Rector of St. Peter's Poor*, in a Preface to a Book of his lately printed, partly in Answer to the Dean of Carlisle's *Latin Sermon* [*Sus Minervam!*] concerning the positive Command, *Swear not at all*; which as this Advocate of Resistance argues) is very express, and yet is liable to Exception. This proves nothing at all, because we have in Holy Scripture the Exceptions specified; and I'll turn him to one, Heb. 6. 16. *Men verily swear by the greater, and an Oath for confirmation is to them an end of all Strife.* Then let him consult the Judgment of our Church in the 39th Article, *Of a Christian Man's Oath.* But instead of pointing to him Cases, wherein a Christian may lawfully take an Oath, it might be a more useful piece of Service for him to find out Cases, wherein a Man may lawfully break one.

Another ^b instance is brought from the Law, which enjoins the Observation of the Sabbath, wherein we are commanded to *do no manner of Work*; and where Necessity [for the Lawgiver has himself allowed that Necessity, *Matth.* 12. v. 10, &c.] makes an Exception: And the Reason of the Necessity is urged, as being assigned by the Lawgiver, (*Mark* 2. 27.) *The Sabbath was made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath.* Thence a Corollary is subjoined, that Necessity may make a justifiable Exception to a Law, though never so express and positive, when the Law respects not some end for which Man was made. Before I proceed to what is inferred from all this, I must make these following Observations. 1. *The Sabbath was made for Man*; i. e. not only for the Good or Rest of Man (*Deut.* 5. 14.) but also that Man by that Rest from his other Labours, might be more at leisure to serve his Maker, and remember (*Deut.* 5. 15.) God's Blessings, and give him Thanks for the same; but from thence it does not follow, that Man (unless our Lord, called *the Son of Man*, *Mark* 2. 28. *Matth.* 12. 8.) is Lord of the Sabbath; or of every thing, which God has ordained for his Service, and the sole disposal whereof he has reserved to himself. The Angels (*Heb.* 1. 14.) are sent to minister to the Heirs of Salvation, yet it does not follow that we are their Lords. 2dly, There is no Law, but what some way or other respecteth some end for which Man was made; for

the Law is either Divine or Human: And it has a respect to his Obedience to God, or the Powers ordained by him; and one, or rather the only End of Man's Creation, was to serve his Creator, and obey him and his Ordinance.

Upon the Corollary forementioned is built this Inference: That Government being not the End of Man's Creation, therefore the Rules of Obedience, upon a real Necessity, admit a lawful Exception. To which I reply, 1st. That allowing the antecedent to be true, I need not in the consequent allow any Exception lawful, or any Case of Necessity, but what the Ruler of all Governments and Laws has specified in his Word, or what may be grounded upon it; as, if we be brought to this Necessity or Dilemma, that we can't obey the Higher Powers, without disobeying God, in such a Case we ought to obey God rather than Man. But, 2^{dly}. I deny the truth of the antecedent, and in order to it, examine the Argument brought to inforce it, That *Man was created in a State of Perfection; the rectitude of which State supposes the Absence of all those Crimes, which are the Objects of Government, and which Government is to reform.* This reasoning is very weak, and out of the many Aburdities it swarms with, I'll take notice but of one; that *the rectitude of a State of Perfection supposes the Absence of all Crimes,* and what of this? Therefore saith our Reasoner, *Government can be no end of Man's Creation.* In answer to which I reply, 1st. That Government can be one of the Ends of a Perfect State; because the Holy Angels, whose State is perfect and free from all Crimes, were made to be subject and obedient, for they (Heb. 1. 13.) *are all ministring Spirits;* and where God is, there can be no Anarchy. 2^{dly}. That Government is one of the Ends of Man's Creation, for he was created to *serve God,* and (Gen. 1. 28.) to *have Dominion over the World.*

If the Government accounts it Loyalty to cry down *Hereditary Right, Lawful Succession, and Passive Obedience,* to cry up the *Dependence of the Crown upon the Subject, the Lawfulness of Resistance, and the Privileges of the People;* the Dissenters of our Age, and the False Brethren, which adhere to them, have indeed signalized their Loyalty in a most singular manner. Let the Government be judge of it, and reap all due Benefits from it. But if this at last should prove Sedition and not Loyalty, I pray God to avert the ominous Prophecy (Judges 9. 15.) of *Jotham;* and may Fire never come out of these Brambles to devour the Cedars of our *Lebanon.*

When every Harangue-maker pretends not only to weigh and compare a Prince's Title, the Hereditary Right, and the Act of Settlement; but having ^k granted the first to be good, affirms the last to be the great security: what is this else but to say, that a Monarch is more secure, when he depends upon the People, and lies at their Mercy (and some of our Princes have found those Mercies very cruel) than when he standeth upon his own bottom, and claims what he holds without Dependence? Queen Elizabeth was too jealous to bear such Examiners of her Title; she thought her self more safe in the love of, than by the dependance on her Subjects; she ever had too great a Soul than to betray her Right: And a little before she resigned both into the Hands of God, from whom she held them, she spoke these words, *'Thronus meus fuit Thronus Regum, nolo ut vilis mihi succedat, Rex mihi succedat volo.* The greatness of her Soul was inferior to none but ^m him, who had much mightier Enemies to encounter. Schism and Rebellion in her Reign were not grown so generally sturdy and bold, and had not yet taken such deep Roots in the Hearts of the Nation. The Spirit of Fanaticism had been curbed by the vigilant Care of ⁿ Dr. Bancroft, that Metropolitan, "who understood the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the Hands of the Calvinian Party, and very much subdued the unruly Spirit of the Non-conformists, by and after the Conference at Hampton-Court; countenanced Men of the greatest Parts in Learning, and disposed the Clergy to a more solid course of Study, than they had been accustomed to; and if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that Fire in England; which had been kindled at Geneva; or if he had been succeeded by Bishop Andrews, Bishop Overal, or any Man, who understood and loved the Church, that infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled.

"But ^o Abbot (who had sat too many Years in that See) brought none of this Antidote with him, and considered

^k Trial, p. 113.

ⁱ Cambden.

^m Charles the First.

ⁿ Clarend. Hist. lib. 1.

^o Sir Peter King (Trial, p. 289.) says, "it was the Fashion to run down Abbot as a remiss Man, to court the present Archbishop Laud as an active, zealous Prelate, by detracting from the Memory of the last. But I hope my Lord Clarendon's Character of both may be more relied on than Sir Peter's word.

“ Christian Religion no otherwise, than as it * abhorred
 “ and reviled Popery, and valued those Men most, who
 “ did that the more furiously. For the strict Observation of
 “ the Discipline of the Church, or the Conformity to the
 “ Articles or Canons established, he made little inquiry,
 “ and took less Care. And having himself made a very
 “ little Progress in the ancient and solid Study of Divinity,
 “ he adhered only to the Doctrine of *Calvin*; and, for his
 “ sake, did not think so ill of the Discipline, as he ought
 “ to have done. But if Men prudently * forbore a publick
 “ Reviling and Railing at the Hierarchy and Ecclesiastical
 “ Government, let their Opinions, and private Practice be
 “ what it would, they were not only secure from any in-
 “ quisition of his, but acceptable to him; and, at least,
 “ equally prefer’d by him. And though many other Bi-
 “ shops plainly discerned the Mischiefs, which daily broke
 “ in to the Prejudice of Religion, by his defects and remissness,
 “ and prevented it in their own Diocesses as much as they
 “ could; and gave all their Countenance to Men of other
 “ Parts and other Principles; and tho’ the Bishop of *London*,
 “ *Dr. Laud*, from the time of his Authority and Credit with
 “ the King, had applied all the Remedies he could to those De-
 “ fections, and from the time of his being Chancellor of *Oxford*,
 “ had much discountenanced, and almost suppressed that
 “ Spirit, by encouraging another kind of Learning and
 “ Practice in that University, which was indeed according
 “ to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; yet that Tem-
 “ per in the Archbishop, whose House was a Sanctuary to
 “ the most eminent of that factious Party, and who licen-
 “ sed their most pernicious Writings, left his Successor a
 “ very difficult Work to do, to reform and reduce a Church
 “ into Order, that had been so long neglected; and that
 “ was so ill filled by many weak and more wilful Church-
 “ men.

And a little after, “ the Remissness of *Abbot* and of other
 “ Bishops by his Example had introduced, or at least con-
 “ nived at a Negligence, [of Churches and Chancels, &c.]
 “ that gave great Scandal to the Church, and no doubt
 “ offended very many pious Men.

* The Character of the best Church-man with some sort of Men in our Days.

* ’Tis to be wished that all Men in our Days would, or might be made so forbear it.

I shall add here the Character of Archbishop *Land*, *Abbot's* Successor, in the *Earl of Clarendon's* own Words. "He was a Man of great Courage and Resolution, and being most assured within himself, that he proposed no End in all his Actions and Designs, but what was pious and just (as sure no Man had ever a Heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his Country) he never studied the easiest ways to those Ends; he thought, it may be, that any Art or Industry that way would discredit, at least make the Integrity of the End suspected, let the Cause be what it will. — He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, which was then very powerful, and who according to their usual Maxim and Practice call every Man they do not love, Papist; and under this senseless Appellation, they created him many Troubles and Vexations. — He was charged with several Articles of High Treason; which, if all had been true, could not have made him guilty of Treason. They accused him of a Design to bring in Popery, and of having Correspondence with the Pope, and such like Particulars, as the Consciences of his greatest Enemies absolved him from. No Man was a greater or abler Enemy to Popery; no Man a more resolute and devout Son of the Church of *England*. He was prosecuted by Lawyers, assigned to that purpose, out of those, who from their own Antipathy to the Church and Bishops, or from some Disobligations received from him, were sure to bring Passion, Animosity, and Malice enough of their own; what Evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the Rudeness, Reproach, and Barbarity imaginable; with which his Judges were not displeased. He defended himself with great and undaunted Courage, and less Passion, than was expected from his Constitution; answer'd all their Objections with Clearness and irresistible Reason; and convinced all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his detestation of all treasonable Intentions. — However no Crime appearing, they resorted to their Legislative Power, and by Ordinance of Parliament they appointed him to be put to Death as guilty of High Treason. The first time that two Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that Jurisdiction, or that

¹ Lib. 1.

² Much in use at this present time.

³ Clarend. Hist. lib. 8.

ever Ordinance had been made to such a purpose: nor
 could any Rebellion be more against the Law, than that
 murderous Act. — They gave Order for his Beheading,
 which he underwent with all Christian Courage and
 Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders and
 Confusion of his Enemies. — His Memory deserves a
 particular Celebration; his Learning, Piety, and Vertue
 have been attain'd by very few, and the greatest of his
 Infirmities are common to all, even to the best of Men. —
 He had been promoted to a poor Bishoprick in *Wales* by
 King *James*: [*a Prince, who, as the Earl of Clarendon re-*
lates] would often say, that his Access to the Crown of
England was the more valuable to him, as it redeemed him
 from the Subjection to the ill Manners and insolent Prac-
 tices of those Preachers, which he could never shake off be-
 fore: for [*as the same Earl observes*] the Preachers then go-
 verned *Edinburgh* in all Church-Affairs, who being cho-
 sen by the Citizens from the time of Mr. *Knox*, (who had
 a principal Hand in the Suppression of Popery, with
 Circumstances not very commendable to this day) had
 been the most turbulent and seditious Ministers of Confu-
 sion, that could be found in the Kingdom.

This wise and noble Historian in his Account of *Pryn*
 and *Bastwick* hath this Note, “ that the Progress is very na-
 tural from a proud and venomous dislike of the Disci-
 pline of the Church of *England* to an equal irreverence to
 the Government of the State too; and having told us, that
Bastwick presumed to dedicate to the Sacred Majesty of
 the King a Book, wherein he inveighs against the Prelates
 of the Church, adds this useful Remark, that such Men's
 Modesty is always equal to their Obedience.

“ * This *Bastwick*, and two others *Pryn* and *Burton*, the
 first a Physician, the second a Lawyer, the third an Apo-
 state Clergy-man, having for their Libelling Humours been

* A bad Character of the Scotch Reformation.

w Lib. 3.

x Clarend. Hist. lib. 1, 3.

y As then, so now, the Church is seldom struck at, but there is a
 Judas in the Conspiracy, some false Brother, some Brutus to give the
 stabbing blow. The Rights of the Christian Church, and the Rights
 of the Dissenters are no more than what may be expected from the servile
 profligate Hirelings of a factious Party: but who would think that a
 Clergy-man should measure Obedience, to which he is so strictly bound by
 the most religious Ties? Tho' some of the first Class may get Estates,
 (and I grudge them not their Wages of Unrighteousness) yet some of the
 last are not yet (and pity it is they ever should be) great gainers by it.

“ first

first gently reprehended, afterwards for their Incorrigible-
 ness more severely censured and imprisoned; and in Pri-
 son (*dum punitur, scelus crescit*) found some means of
 Correspondence in order to vent a more pestilent and more
 seditious Libel, than before, in which the Honour of King,
 Queen, Counsellors, and Bishops was with equal License
 blasted and traduced, which Libel was faithfully disper-
 sed by their Profelytes in the City. These three lost their
 Ears in the Pillory, and were imprison'd in several Gaols.
 The Sentence was executed with Rigour and Severity e-
 nough, and yet [not so severely, but that] their Itch of
 Libelling broke out; and the Wisdom of the State thought
 fit to remove these infectious Sores in some Air more re-
 mote from that catching City, to *Jersey, Scilly, and Guern-*
sey; where they remained for two Years, till by the Ap-
 plication of their Wives and Friends to the *Commons* they
 were released, sent for, and brought to *London*. There
 cannot be a better Instance of the unruly and mutinous
 Spirit of *London*, which was then the Sink of all the ill
 Humours of the Kingdom, than the ² triumphant Entry,
 which these Persons, who had before been stigmatized up-
 on Pillories as Libellous and Infamous Offenders, made
 into that City.

These foregoing Passages I thought fit to quote from the
 Earl of *Clarendon*, that his Authority may confirm my Opi-
 nion of Schism, that its Spirit is unruly, factious, infecti-
 ous, better kept out at first than quelled afterwards; that
 its Fire was first kindled at *Geneva*, and in *Switzerland*;
 which last will farther appear by the same noble Histori-

² Is not it hard, that three branded Villains should enter and be recei-
 ved triumphantly into this Kingdom's Metropolis, where they had under-
 gone so severe and so just a Punishment; and that a Clergy-man, who for
 a zealous Sermon against False Brethren, after a most vigorous Prosecu-
 tion, and as deliberate an Examination of his whole Case, hath by Great
 Britain's highest and (no doubt) impartial Court been judged worthy of
 no other but a tender Censure, should be reviled for having in some Coun-
 try-Towns met with some welcomes from his Friends, and others, who re-
 joiced at the Doctor's coming off so well, purely because (however his Case
 stood yet) the Enemies of our Church had taken (as 'tis ever their way
 to take right or wrong) an opportunity of triumphing over the Church
 (without ever considering the Merits of the Cause, which was learnedly
 debated by the great Council of the Nation) if he had had a more rigo-
 rous Punishment inflicted upon him.

an's

an's Character of two Persons, * Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes* and Sir *Harry Vane*, Junior.

"The former being a Man of good Parts, of Learning, and after some Years spent in *New College* in *Oxford*, had spent his time abroad, in *Geneva* and among the Cantons of *Switzerland*, where he improved his disinclination to the Church, with which Milk he had been nursed. — The other of great natural Parts, and of a very profound Dissimulation, — within a very short time after he returned from his Studies in *Magdalen College* in *Oxford* — he spent some little time in *France*, and more in *Geneva*; and after his return into *England*, contracted a full prejudice and bitterness against the Church, both against the Form of the Government and the Liturgy, which was generally in great Reverence, even with many of those, who were not Friends to the other.

I observe (what is very obvious) that *Abbot's* remissness in preventing the growth of Schism, and his encouragement of that Party, made it very difficult (or rather, as it proved afterwards, impossible) for his Successor *Land* to stem that impetuous Tide. Schism and Rebellion had so improved themselves, that they might be stiled (as we now stile the Power of *France*) exorbitant; they pretended to give Laws, what they never did in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and tho' that mighty Queen exerted her Spirit most vigorously in keeping them down, yet this good King had need of a much greater to struggle with them, when they had settled themselves in high Places: finding his Kingdom below ready to be swallowed up by these infernal Enemies, he supported his noble Soul by looking up to that, which was not of this World; being sensible of the Danger of his Earthly Crown, he secured to himself a Celestial one; and fought to the end a good Fight against the Foes of God and his Church with the Patience, Courage, and Resolution of a Martyr, when he could no longer do it with the Power and Authority of a King. And here I can't but insert a Paragraph out of the Earl of *Clarendon's* * History.

"The several unheard of Insolences which this excellent Prince was forced to submit to before that odious Judiciary, his Majestick Behaviour, and resolute insisting upon his own Dignity, and defending it by manifest Authorities in the Law, as well as by the clearest Deductions from

* Lib. 3.

* Lib. II.

Reason, the pronouncing that horrible Sentence upon the most innocent Person in the World, the execution of that Sentence by the most execrable Murther that was ever committed since that of our blessed Saviour; and the Circumstances thereof; the Application and Interposition, that was used by some noble Persons to prevent that woful Murther; and the Hypocrisy, with which that Interposition was eluded; * the Saint-like Behaviour of that blessed Martyr, and his Christian Courage and Patience at his Death, are all Particulars well known; the mentioning it would but afflict and grieve the Reader; and no more shall be said here of that deplorable Tragedy, so much to the Dishonour of the Nation, and the Religion professed by it, tho' undeservedly.

The Bishop of *Salisbury* derives the Effusion of that innocent Blood "from an unhappy Misunderstanding between the King and his Parliament, the Doctrine (of Passive Obedience) again in vogue, illegal Imprisonments, Monopolies, Star-Chamber's severe Proceedings, Ship-money, Stories carried by Persons about King and Queen, discovery of a Negotiation to engage the Army to declare against the Parliament, Jealousies, fatal Train of Errors, &c. His Lordship may palliate and colour the several Steps and Accessaries, which ended in that Hellish Action; but yet if the Passages leading to it be every one rightly weighed; if the Persons concerned either more or less in all the Particulars be examined, and their Principles looked into, if the chief Reasons of the Disappointments in the many Overtures made towards a Reconciliation be considered, there will be found lurking at bottom and interwoven throughout a raging Spirit of Schism; blowing up the Coals,

* In a Book intituled, *Animadversions on Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Death*; printed, London, for John Marshall at the Bible in Grace-Church-Street, 1703. pag. 195. these words are read, — If this will not convince the World of the Righteousness of our Civil War, I know not what will. I pray all Advocates for that worst of Kings, consider it. I am ready to prove him a popish, perjured, arbitrary, tyrannical, bloody, Pseudo-Martyr. If this be not to encourage Rebellion, if this amounts not to High-Crimes and Misdemeanours, I know not what will. The Reader may find more of the like stuff in that pestilent Book.

Speech before the Lords.

aggravating every little unhappy Mismanagement, laying all the blame upon the Church, and resolved at last to be satisfied with no Concessions a condescending Monarch could give, unless he sacrificed the Church to their Rage and Fury; and if he did not grant that, with nothing but his Blood. Therefore we may trace the shedding of that Blood from the very Birth of Schism among us; and tho' the Severities of Queen *Elizabeth* are not allowed to have been wholesome by the modern Successors and Patrons of those former Schismatics; yet I am of Opinion that if the Cockatrice had been crushed in the Egg, and that spreading Plant destroyed Root and Branch by those Severities, it might have saved this Nation the Blood not only of a King, but of a very great multitude of Subjects; and certainly the saving of Three Kingdoms from Confusion and Ruin may justify any Severity, and intitle it to the Name of wholesome.

I shall proceed now to the other Particular, for which a Reflection is made upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign by our Advocates of Schism; her Behaviour to Archbishop *Grindall*: and in order to it a View must be taken of that Prelate's Temper, Conduct, and Life; an account whereof I'll give out of the Reverend Mr. *Strype*'s late History of his Life.

" *Grindall* was born (p. 1. to p. 8.) *An.* 1519. in *Compland*
 " of *Cumberland*, within the Parish of *St. Beghs*; sent to
 " *Cambridge*, where he was first entertained in *Magdalen's*
 " College, then *Christ's*, last in *Pembroke-Hall*, whereof he
 " was first Fellow, then President, and Master (in the Year
 " 1559. p. 26.) He was *An.* 1549. being Batchellor in Di-
 " vinity admitted *Margaret's* Latin Preacher: and 1550.
 " chosen by Bishop *Ridley* for his Chaplain with *Rogers* and
 " *Bradford*, both which, as well as the Bishop, were Mar-
 " tyts: after *An.* 1551. *Aug.* 24. the Chanterhip of *Paul's*
 " was collated on him; in *December* he was taken to be
 " one of the King's Chaplains; *An.* 1552. in *July*, made
 " Prebend of *Westminster*, and in *November* nominated for
 " a Bishoprick in the North; and what it was, is uncer-
 " tain; but it came to nothing; and he *An.* 1553. flew his
 " native Country to avoid Persecution (p. 9), and made
 " *Strausburg* his Sanctuary, the Magistrates of which Town
 " allowed the *English* a Church for the Exercise of their Re-
 " ligion, according as they professed it in *England*. And being
 " almost in despair of the Restoration of Religion in *England*,
 " and consequently of his return thither again, he, that his
 " Talent might not be unoccupied, but that he might be able

to^d preach God's Word in the *German Churches*, retired to *Wasselheim*, to learn the Language.

" In the Year 1554 (p. 10.) Controversies were springing up at *Frankford* about a new Form of worshipping God, varying from the last corrected Book under King *Edward*.
 " To the Brethren of * *Frankford* that were of this mind, those of *Strasburg* sent a Letter by their Agents *Chambers* and *Grindall*, who declared by word of mouth the reason of their coming was chiefly to establish the *English Book*.
 " Yet that they meant not to have it so strictly observed, but that such Ceremonies and Things, which the Country, where they were, could not bear, might be omitted; the Substance and Effect thereof remaining. But seeing the small likelihood of agreement, he did not think fit to concern himself any farther in this Affair. Yet afterwards *An. 1555.* he was at *Frankford* again, with *Cox*, *Chambers*, and some others, and there quieted these differences: so that from thenceforth the greatest number (p. 11.) of Exiles took up their Habitation here. The remembrance of this Town's Kindness never slipp'd out of *Grindall's* Mind, and in the Year 1561. writing a Letter to that Town he enlarged himself, saying: That *England* had so many Bishops, and other Ministers of God's Word, which at that day preached the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, was owing to *Strasburg*, * *Zuric*, *Basil*, *Wormes*, but above all to *Frankford*. " Bishop *Ridley* hearing of the Controversies at *Frankford* (p. 19.) writes thus to *Grindall* a little before his Martyrdom: Alas! that our Brother *Knox* [who was the chief Raiser of Discontents against the Use of the Common-Prayer-Book in the Congregation of the *English* Exiles settled there] could not bear with our

^d Quære, Whether he had a Design to bring the *German Churches* to the *English Discipline*, or else to comply with theirs.

* *Sir Peter King, Trial*, p. 82. When the famous Troubles begun at *Frankford* about the Use of the *English Service*, where the Foundations were laid of the Divisions that have since divided and rent the Church, he was so far from disliking the *English Method*, that he went from *Strasburgh* to *Frankford* to encourage and persuade the Congregation there to submit to the *English Establishment*.

However (by *Mr. Recorder's* leave) he never meant to have it so strictly observed in relation to Ceremonies.

* Yet the *Earl of Clarendon* in a place quoted before (p. 88.) relates that *Switzerland* is a Place, where the disinclination to our Church is improved.

“ Book of Common-Prayer ; Matters, against which, al-
 “ though I grant a Man (as he is) of Wit and Learning
 “ may find to make apparent (meaning plausible) Rea-
 “ sons : but I suppose he cannot be able soundly to disprove,
 “ by God’s Word, the Reason he maketh against the Lita-
 “ ny, and the Fault *per sanguinem & sudorem* he findeth in
 “ the same, I do marvel, how he can or dare avouch them
 “ before the Englishmen, that be with you. As for pri-
 “ vate * Baptism, it is not prescribed in the Book, but
 “ where solemn Baptism for lack of time and danger of
 “ Death cannot be had. What would he in that Case
 “ should be done ? Peradventure, he will say, “ It is better
 “ to let them die without Baptism. For this his *Better*,
 “ what Word hath he in the Scripture ? And if we have
 “ none, why will he not rather follow that, that the Sentence
 “ of the old ancient Writers do more allow. From whom
 “ to dissent without warrant of God’s Word, I cannot
 “ think it any godly Wisdom. And as for the Purification
 “ of Women, I ween the Word *Purification* is changed ; and
 “ it is call’d *Thanksgiving*. Grindall (p. 22, 23) departed
 “ for England in December 1558, the very next Month after
 “ Queen Mary’s Death ; and when a Form of Prayer and
 “ Publick Worship was thought fit to be drawn up and
 “ prepared, he was one of the Men set apart for this weigh-
 “ ty Work. Upon Dr. Edm. Sandys’s (one of this num-
 “ ber) presenting this Assembly with a Paper by him drawn
 “ up of certain things needful to be redressed ; one whereof
 “ was, *That* ^b Private Baptism, wherein Women sometimes
 “ took upon them to baptize, might be taken out of the
 “ Book ; Grindall writ his Judgment in the Margin in these
 “ Words, *potest fieri in Synodo*. Another Paper was drawn
 “ up for Ecclesiastical Discipline, laid before these Divines
 “ now, or sometimes after. In one Article of this Paper it
 “ was thought fit Ministers should wear a grave Apparel
 “ distinct from the Laity. In the Margin here he noted his
 “ Approbation ; yet judged, that it might not be altoge-
 “ ther the same used in the Popish time. An. 1559. Grin-
 “ dall (p. 28.) was by the Queen thought fit to succeed Bon-
 “ ner in the See of London ; but he remain’d under some

* I am willing to quote Bishop Ridley’s Words at length, that the
 Testimony of a Martyr may justify the True Church-man’s Zeal for our
 Common Prayer.

† See a little before the Judgment of the Bishop and Martyr Ridley.
 “ Seruples

“ Scruples of Conscience about some things ; especially the
 “ Habits and certain Ceremonies required to be used of such
 “ as were Bishops. For the Reformed in these Times gene-
 “ rally went upon this ground, that, in order to the com-
 “ plet freeing the Church of Christ from the Errors and
 “ Corruptions of *Rome*, ⁱ every Usage and Custom, practi-
 “ sed by that Apostate and Idolatrous Church should be
 “ abolished, and that all their Ceremonies and Circum-
 “ stances of Religious Worship should be clearly abroga-
 “ ted ; and that the Service of God should be most simple,
 “ stripp’d of all that Shew, Pomp and Appearance that had
 “ been customarily used before : esteeming all that to be no
 “ better than Superstitious and Antichristian. This com-
 “ monly-received Opinion, which the late *English* Exiles
 “ especially had imbibed, was the cause, that *Grindall* was
 “ now in doubt, whether he might with a safe Conscience
 “ accept of a Bishoprick, when he saw he must submit to
 “ divers of these things, if he did ; namely, such things as
 “ were practised in the Church of *England*, in the late time
 “ of King *Edward*. For so it was now determined, that
 “ Religion should be reformed according to the way and
 “ manner, wherein it then appeared and was practised.
 “ In this scruple therefore he thought fit to consult with *Pe-*
 “ *ter Martyr*, one of excellent Moderation, and at this
 “ time publick Professor at *Zurick* in *Helvetia*, his Friend
 “ and Acquaintance, (*pag. 29.*) for they had been at *Straf-*
 “ *burg* together. In *August* he sent a Letter to him, which
 “ came not to his Hand before *October*. Therein he com-
 “ municated to him his Doubts, that he might, according
 “ to that Light he should give him, ^{*} accept the Episcopal
 “ Office or refuse it. One point wherein he stuck was,
 “ wearing certain peculiar Garments, whether *extra sacra*
 “ or in *sacris*. *Martyr* in the beginning of *November* gave

ⁱ The Character of a Presbyterian’s furious Zeal.

^{*} A very laudable thing for an *English* Bishop, in a Point concerning
 the Ceremonies of our Church, to consult Ministers who were Calvinists.
 Was it because there was no Clergy-man of this Church to inquire of this
 Word ? Besides, if he had a mind to give the pre-eminence to Calvinists
 and prejudiced Persons, ought he not in Wisdom and Equity to have in the
 next place heard, what the Ministers of our Church, such as his *Metropo-*
litan, could say for these harmless and already determined Ceremonies ;
 upon which he passeth the Compliment of *Res nihili*, in his Letter to
Bullinger (1566) of which more by and by.

∴ his

his answer; That, as for going in a Cap round or square, or in a Gown, in ordinary Conversation, not employed about Holy Things, they should not wrangle, more than need, about them, since Superstition seemed not properly to be concerned herein. But as for Habits to be used in the Ministry of Holy Things, since they carried an appearance of the ¹ Mass, and were merely remainders of Popery, it was the learned *Bullinger*, the chief Minister of *Zurick*, his Opinion, that they were to be refrained from by *Grindall*, lest by his Example a thing scandalous should be confirmed. Yet *Martyr* said he saw the present Danger, lest they should be put from the Office of Preaching; and that perhaps some hope might be, that as Altars and Images were already taken away, so also those appearances of the Mass might in time be taken away too; ^m if he and others, who had taken upon them Episcopacy, earnestly laboured therein. Should he decline the Office, another might succeed in his Place, who would not care to have those Relicks rejected, but perhaps would rather defend, cherish and maintain them. He was therefore, he said, more backward to advise him rather to refuse the Bishoprick, than to submit to the Use of those Vestures. But because he saw Scandals of that kind were altogether by all means to be avoided, therefore he more easily had yielded to *Bullinger's* Opinion aforesaid. *Martyr* added, That, when he was at *Oxford*, though he were a Canon, yet ⁿ he would never wear the Surplice in the Chaire: His example, (*said he*) was no just Confirmation. But that, which moved him then, and still did the same, might perhaps have some force with *Grindal* (*p. 30.*) namely, That that was not to be done, which might con-

¹ I think it might be proved such Habits were used in sacris, before ever Popery came in.

^m Very good Hints and Arguments for Occasional Conformity and Hypocrisy, to comply with the appearances of the Mass, in order at last to take them away; to do Ill that Good may come on't; and (according to Popish casuistical Divinity) to sanctify an ill Action by a good Intention. Such poor shiftless Evasions may pass at Rome and Zurick, but are never owned by a true Church of England-man.

ⁿ Ne'er the more to be commended for it. But a Canonry was a tolerable Argument for Occasional Conformity,

" firm the Practice of what his ° Conscience did not ap-
 " prove. This same Year *Grindall* wrote two Letters more
 " to *Martyr*, both in *October* and *December* for his Advice
 " and Council; whether seeing he was not left at his Liberty
 " for the Garments, he should accept of the Episcopal Fun-
 " ction offer'd him. *Martyr's* answer came late; and *Grin-*
 " *dall* had accepted the Bishoprick, before it came to his
 " Hand. But *Martyr's* Advice was, that he should not de-
 " cline it, because of the great need of Ministers; and be-
 " ing without the Function; it would not be in their pow-
 " er to amend such things as gave Offence. There (*pag. 31.*)
 " was no need much to dispute of the square Cap and the
 " external Episcopal Habits, when the wearing thereof was
 " without Superstition, and might have a Civil Reason in
 " this Kingdom. The Garments which they termed Holy,
 " somewhat more stuck with him. He wonder'd they
 " should be so stiffly retain'd: And he wished all things,
 " in the Service of God, might be done in the most simple
 " manner. Yet that in case Peace might be obtained between
 " the *Saxon* and *Helvetian*, as to Doctrine, this sort of Gar-
 " ments should never make a Separation. For ° though
 " they should not approve them, yet they would bear them.
 " He allowed therefore that *Grindall* might use that Attire
 " either when he preached or administred the Sacraments:
 " yet so as to ° continue to speak and teach against the Use
 " of them. He could never advise, that when he preached
 " or administred the Lord's Supper, he should have the
 " Image of the Crucifix upon the Table. *Grindall* consult-
 " ed him also, whether it were necessary that Sacramental

° Where would my Conscience be, if being a Clergy-man, and at the
 same time persuaded that the Vestures injoined by the Church were scanda-
 lous, appearances of the Mass, Relicks of Popery, and whatever else op-
 probrious Names these Men, Friends to any thing but Popery, call them
 by, I yet continued in the Communion of a Church, who is so stiff in injoin-
 ing these things?

° How is this reconcileable with the Rule he laid down before, That
 that is not to be done which may confirm the Practice of what the Consci-
 ence does not approve.

° What fine Dissimulation is this which *Grindall's* sole Counsellor
 prompts him to; to speak and teach against the use of that attire which
 he useth and may be allowed to use? A pretty Doctrine for a Bishop to in-
 veigh against the wearing of Lawn, which he wears himself!

— Bread,

" Bread should be * unleavened; that is, Wafer: To
 " which he told him, that all the Churches abroad did
 " not make any Contention about it, nay that they every
 " where used it. *Grindall* also gave *Martyr* to under-
 " stand how offended many were with the Episcopal Ha-
 " bits, and those sacred Garments, as they call'd them.
 " But he told him, they might escape all blame, if they al-
 " so declared in their Sermons, that those * Garments dis-
 " pleased them also; and that they would use their endea-
 " vour, at one time or other, to get them laid aside. *Mar-*
 " *tyr* being also by him consulted about Perambulation in
 " Rogation Weeks, seemed to be derived from the Ambula-
 " tions of the Heathen, concluded, that all Superstition
 " should be avoided; and if God's Mercy were only pray-
 " ed to for the new Fruits of the Earth, and thanks given
 " for the Food of the Year past, Superstition should be suf-
 " ficiently avoided. * Although both Magistrate and Peo-
 " ple should be taught against such Customs; and endea-
 " vours ought to be used to explode them as Relicks of the
 " * *Amorites*. And to conclude, he pray'd God to persuade
 " him

* The reason probably, why unleavened Bread was used, might be in
 allusion to the leaven of Malice and Wickedness, the old Leaven, and
 the leaven of the Pharisees (which I take to be Hypocrisy) which a
 worthy Communicant ought to lay aside. Read 1 Cor. 5. 7, 8. Mat. 16. 6.
 Mark 8. 15. Luke 12. 1. 1 Cor. 5. 6. Gal. 5. 9. Unleavened Bread
 was at first injoined by the Rubrick of the Common-Prayer 1549. But
 by our present Rubrick it is sufficient it be the best and purest Wheat, to
 take away all occasion of Dissention and Superstition. Scrupulous dissent-
 ing People might object, yet very ignorantly, the Text of Matth. 16. 12.
 I would here say more of this Text, were it not that I submit in things
 indifferent to the judgment of our Church, which has thought fit to re-
 move the use of unleavened Bread.

* More will be said concerning these Habits and Garments at the Year
 1566.

* What shuffling and cutting is here? Superstition sufficiently avoided,
 and yet strait call them the Relicks of the Amorites. Still that old Lea-
 ven of Canting and Dissimulation comes uppermost; to use a Custom, and
 at the same time to preach against it.

* The ways of the Amorites in the Style of the Jews, were Heathen
 Rites complicated with Magical Superstition. (Gregory's Works. An. 1665.
 p. 93, 94.) And I know no reason, why our Perambulations in Rogation
 Week (for the account of which I refer the Reader to Sparrow's Ration.
 An. 1664. p. 184.) should be nam'd the Relicks of the Amorites. The
 Heathens had their Ambaryalia, and they went round the Bounds of their
 Grounds, as we do round ours; but how different our Custom is from their Ce-
 remonies,

" him of these things, or ^w to suggest better: adding, that
 " in all this *Bullinger* assented. *Martyr* (pag. 32.) in a
 " Letter, had shew'd great dislike at a Crucifix, in the
 " Queen's Chappel, upon the Table at the administration of
 " the Sacrament: and *Grindall* asked his Judgment, whe-
 " ther he did not hold this among things indifferent: To
 " which he replied in the Negative. * But he prudently
 " added, that he that was in the very midst of the Bat el,
 " must not expect Counsel so far off, he being at such a
 " distance from them who were taking their Consultations
 " about it on the very spot. Yet he exhorted him, by no
 " means, to refuse the Ministry voluntarily offered him,
 " unless he were compelled to these things. In fine, the
 " Bishop pray'd him to write to the Queen to dissuade her
 " against continuing the Crucifix. *Martyr* ^v excused him-
 " self; adding, That he had twice, publickly and private-
 " ly, writ to her; but little notice was taken of him:
 " especially seeing, as it was said, the English were now
 " consulting about embracing the *Augustan* Confession, and
 " of entering into League with the *German* Protestants, who

*remonies, I'll leave any impartial Man to judge. I know Rivet has com-
 pared the Popish Processions and those Ambarvalia; in his Book, De vero
 Verbi, &c. Ministerio, Rob. Steph. 1553. pag. 104. But my Opinion
 of this Calvinist Writer, and of that Book is, that it is written with a
 great deal of Wit and good Latin; and that the Author thereof designing
 in it to compare every particular of the Popish Mass with the Heathenish
 idolatrous Ceremonies, has in some places been by his Zeal betrayed into
 profane Expressions; and shew'd his Skill to have been much greater in
 the writings of the Profane, than in those of the ancient Ecclesiastical
 Authors.*

^w A good Direction, to change nothing but for the better.

^x Another good Direction again; which Bishop Grindall was never so
 complying with his Friend as to use, for as has been, and will hereafter
 be seen, he still took Advice from the Presbyterian Theologi Transmari-
 ni, rather than from his Episcopal Country-men.

^y Well he might, for what business had he to concern himself with any
 Ceremony used in our Queen's Chapel? It had been Bishop Grindall's bu-
 siness, if he had been as conscientious in discharging his Duty by advising
 the Queen, as he was afterwards scrupulous in not obeying her Com-
 mands. Nay, he was free enough afterwards, to reprove her for
 meddling with too much Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs. But then he
 was suspended from his Bishoprick, with small hopes of being restored:
 Now he had a Bishoprick, to which he was elected, to lose; and his
 Friend Martyr advised him, by no means, to miss it.

“ all had the Crucifix in their Churches. Grindall ² prayed
 “ him to put *Bernardin Ochin* and *Bullenger* upon writing
 “ to her: He did so; and *Bernardin* promised he would;
 “ but *Bullinger* declined it also.

“ Bishop Grindall being 40 years old, was consecrated to
 “ the See of *London*, December 21. 1559. and (pag. 37.)
 “ March 3. 1560. preached at *St. Paul's-Cross* in his *Rochet*
 “ and *Chimere*; and so continued to wear them as often
 “ as he preached. He was this Year made one of the
 “ Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Care was taken
 “ (pag. 39.) by him for furnishing the Church with Mi-
 “ nisters not tainted with Popery. Many (pag. 40.) were
 “ by him ordained, that were more elderly, grave and so-
 “ ber Persons, no Scholars, but perhaps Tradesmen before,
 “ to supply the present necessity of the Church: But this
 “ ² gave Offence. And in *August* an Order came to him
 “ from the Metropolitan to forbear ordaining any more
 “ Artificers, and others, that had been of secular Occupa-
 “ tions; that were unlearned. Which Order Grindall
 “ (pag. 41.) communicated in a Letter to the rest of the
 “ Suffragan Bishops. In *November* following the Archbi-
 “ shop sent him a Letter for certain Considerations condu-
 “ cive to the ^b general Reformation of the Clergy, to cer-
 “ tifie

² Still the Bishop will have the Crucifix pull'd down, but (no doubt out of a scruple of Conscience) would not have a hand in it: or (may be) it might burn his Fingers. Therefore the fearful good Man sets *Martyr*, *Ochin* and *Bullenger* upon the hot Work, wherein the first was not willing to try any more, and the two last were so wise, as not to be busie in other Men's matters. I design no Parallel; but I can't help remembring that the Papists have many times employed their Journeymen, the Dissenters, in a Work which they wished to have done, but could not so well do themselves; I mean, the Ruine of the Church of England.

^a And well it might. How the Ministry is embased by entrusting it with raw, illiterate Mechanicks, is set forth much better, than I am able to do, by the Reverend Dr. South, in his Sermon upon *Jeroboam's* making of the Lowest of the People Priests of the High Places, 1 Kings 13. 33, 34.

^b I observe all along that Archbishop Parker was very careful of keeping the Clergy regular, and was never wanting to put Bishop Grindall in mind of this Duty; who poor Man could not attend his own Clergy so well, because he had taken upon him (out of great Zeal and Charity) the Superintendency of all the Meetings of the Foreigners; which mighty Charge obliged him to correspond more with Strangers, and Persons dissenting from

“ tifie him of the Names and Sirnames of all his Clergy.
 “ Bishop Grindall (with the Archbishop of Canterbury and
 “ Bishop of Ely) took upon him the ^c Courage and Honelty
 “ to write a secret Letter to the Queen, to perswade her to
 “ marry ;

our Church, than with the Home-Clergy. And how many of those Foreigners, either at home or abroad, he brought over to a better Opinion of, or nearer Conformity with our Church by this correspondence, we are still to learn. But it seems to have proved the quite contrary; and that they rather brought him over to a better Opinion of them, to a disrelish of some of our Ceremonies, and to endeavour a nearer Conformity with their more simple way of Worship. This Bishop seems like to St. Paul, who had the Care of all the Churches (2 Cor. 11. 28.) but very unlike him, in the Uniformity of those Churches under his Superintendency; for each of them had different ways of Worship; they were not of one Mind and Judgment; which St. Paul took special care to recommend to the Churches under him. 1 Cor. 1. 10.

^c The Bishop has Courage and Honesty in Company, to provide for the Queen's Bed-Chamber; but durst not venture alone to clear her Chapel of a superstitious Crucifix: though I fancy it was more the province of a Bishop to look after the last than the first. Besides (if in this moderate Age it may be lawful to put in a Word for a Crucifix, without being accused of Popery) what need was there of so much out-cry against a Crucifix, if no sort of Worship or religious Veneration was paid to it? Hezekiah brake the brazen Serpent; but 'twas because the Children of Israel burnt Incense to it, 2 Kings 18. 4. Even now in some of our Churches and Cathedrals, and in the very Royal Chapel the Letters IHS with a Cross is embroider'd on the Carpet upon and over the Altar: and if Bishop Grindall was alive, very likely he would petition to have this piece of pretended Superstition torn out of the Embroidery. I own 'tis a very great unhappiness (I had almost said, fault) when Circumstances of Policy clash with Religion; as for Example [see Clarend. Histor. Lib. 6.] when Lord Scudamore, the last Ambassador in France, during the Reign of King Charles I. declined going (as in former times Ambassadors and State-Ministers from England used to do, to hold a Correspondence with the most active Hugonots industrious in getting into the Secrets of State, and so deriving all necessary intelligence) to the Church at Charenton, and also furnished his Chapel with Candles upon the Communion-Table and the like, whether by the Inclinations of his own Nature, or by Advice from others; this gave great Offence and Umbrage to those of the Reformation. I know not why the Ambassador should be reflected on (Trial, p. 113.) for not going to the Hugonot Churches; and there's no reason, why an English Ambassador being allowed (as all publick Ministers are) the use of his Religion in his private Chapel, should frequent the Congregation of the Calvinists, when he has the liberty and opportunity of serving God in his own way. Besides, my Lord Clarendon layeth in the place before-

O 2

quoted,

“ marry ; shewing her how the Safety and Welfare of the
 “ Church and Kingdom depended upon Issue of her Royal Bo-
 “ dy. Bishop *Grindall* had the Care of all the Foreigners Chur-
 “ ches in *London*, the *Dutch* or *German*, the *French*, the *Spanish*
 “ and *Italian* ; and he was their ^d Superintendent, and so
 “ termed. He, since he lived at *Strasburg*, and his depar-
 “ ture thence, (p. 75.) kept a Correspondence with *Hierom*
 “ *Zanchy*, Reader of Divinity at *Strasburg* : and *An. 1563.*
 “ Letters passed between them concerning the Debates of
 “ *Zanchy*, and the *Lutherans*. *Grindall* (p. 76.) writes that
 “ he attributed so much to *Zanchy*’s Piety and Prudence,
 “ that he had a good Opinion of all his Actions, especially
 “ since he had the Opinion of such a learned Man as *Cal-*
 “ *vin* in what he had done ; that is, in subscribing for
 “ Peace sake the *Augustan* Confession, yet with some Ex-
 “ ceptions and Conditions. A solemn Thanksgiving for
 “ the abating of the Plague being provided (p. 82.) to be
 “ used in *Paul’s*, the Archbishop advised, seeing it was an
 “ Eucharistick Office, to have the Holy Eucharist then ce-
 “ lebrated, that those of the Church, the Magistrates of the
 “ City then present, and other well-disposed Persons might
 “ receive the Communion. But to this ^e *Grindall* did not
 “ agree

quoted, most stress and blame upon this, That he had some Advertise-
 ments, if not Instructions, to forbear any extraordinary Commerce
 with the Men of that Profession. And that he was careful to publish,
 upon all Occasions, by himself and those who had the nearest relation
 to him, that the Church of *England* look’d not on the *Hugonots* as a
 part of their Communion. An Ambassador may keep to his own Religi-
 ous Worship, and at the same time converse with others of a different per-
 suasion, without any Reflection upon their Religion.

^d A new Title unheard of in *England*, much used among some Protes-
 tants beyond Sea ; and our Bishop was very fond of it, and, as his new
 Office required, mighty busie in all their Concerns, as may be read, p. 42.
 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 66, 75, 76, 86, 87, 88, 89,
 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113,
 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131,
 133, 134, 135, 139, 147, 148, 149, 153. During the whole time he
 was Bishop of *London*, till he was translated to *York*; when his Super-
 intendency expired with that Bishoprick, he with so much diligence admi-
 nistred his Charge towards the Foreigners Churches, that the History,
 which Mr. *Strype* gives us of his Life, while Bishop of *London*, that is,
 for ten Years, represents more the State of those Churches than of ours.

^e I think this a very weak Argument for forbearing so necessary a Du-
 ty ; and the Objection against it at that time is the same in all great So-
 lemnities ;

“ agree, because, as he told the Archbishop, if it were at
 “ this time administred, it would be done so tumultuously
 “ and gazingly, by means of the infinite multitude that
 “ would resort thither to see, that the rest of the Action
 “ would be disregarded. *An. 1564. the Bishop (p. 94.)*
 “ was created Doctor of Divinity at *Cambridge* by his Proxy
 “ Dr. Coverdale, *April* the 15th, and sent the Archdeacon
 “ of *Essex* to perform the Consecration of a new Church
 “ built there by the Earl of *Sussex* who desired it. The 25th
 “ of *March* (p. 95,) the ‘ Bishop, by a Letter to *Utenbo-*
 “ *hovius*, recommended him one *Martin* an honest Servant
 “ of his own, *German* by Birth, who had lived with him
 “ almost a whole Year, but could not well understand *Eng-*
 “ *lish*, to be received into their Congregation, upon his said
 “ Servant’s Desire; inserting in his Letter thus; *what he un-*
 “ *derstandeth of the Principles of our Religion, you may easily*
 “ *know by Examination.*

“ Hitherto a due Agreement and Uniformity among the
 “ Clergy, in wearing the same Habits, and using the same
 “ Rites in Divine Service, was neglected, and especially in
 “ *London*; not a few rejecting the Orders of the Book.
 “ And

lemnities; and therefore the Bishop ought rather to have considered, how
 to remedy the Inconvenience than to put off the Duty.

‘ Quære 1st; whether this *Martin* after a Year’s Service almost in a
 Bishop’s large Family, could not get *English* enough to understand our
 Prayers; 2. Whether the Bishop had endeavoured to instruct him in our
 Church-Service. 3. Whether having done his Endeavour he was not able
 to bring him over to our Communion; and therefore recommended him to
 the Dutch Congregation. 4. What need was there of the Bishop’s recom-
 mending him to be received into it, if he was of that Persuasion before.
 5. What Congregation the Servant went to, all that Year; and whether
 having frequented the Church-Service in the Bishop’s Family he had at
 last chosen to return to the Religion he had been bred in; and whether the
 Bishop dismissed him from his Family, but however with a kind Recom-
 mendation. Lastly, what Religion the Bishop meant by our? and whe-
 ther out of a comprehensive Charity he calls the Dutch or German Reli-
 gion our? or whether he means the Church of England, in the Principles
 whereof how well he had instructed him, he refers to *Utenhovius’s* Exa-
 mination? These Queries I don’t expect to be satisfied in, since Mr. *Strype*
 who has examined all Records relating to this Bishop’s Life, is wholly si-
 lent in these Circumstances; but I mention’d them upon another account;
 to take this occasion of recommending to all Masters of Families professing
 the Church of England the Care of their Servants Souls, and not to en-
 courage Schism in their own Houses, and even (as I know some do) to
 bargain

“ And the Plague of late spreading it self, the Bishops ”
 “ could not exercise the Discipline requisite for this purpose. ”
 “ But ”

bargain with a Servant, that he shall have leave to go to a separate Communion from his Master. To enforce what I say, I refer them to the second Church-Rubrick after the Catechism: And all Fathers, Mothers, Masters and Dames, &c. And here I crave leave to press one thing with every Lay-well-wisher to our Church of England, that is, in their private Families to make use of our Common-Prayer. No better Prayers can be composed by private Men; and tho' it is not required of those, who have a worldly lawful Calling, to attend on worky-days the Morning and Evening Publick Service, yet they may keep pace and communion with the Church by a private Performance of what she does in publick. Some Offices which can be pronounced only by a Priest, such as Absolutions and Blessings, may be read by a Lay-person, if turned into Prayers. Such a Custom as this would make both Servants and Masters of Families better acquainted with the Common-Prayers; both would bring to Church a warmer Heart after six day's Exercise, and with a greater readiness join with the Minister in that, which had been the whole Week's Devotion. This would advance the Church-Service into the esteem of all, because the more it is used, the more it must needs be liked; and none hath more to object against it, than he who understandeth it least; and the Ignorance of it is the only thing which can bring it into contempt. Let me, Reader, with a Christian and zealous Importunity follow thee even into thy Closet, and recommend to thee the use of it in that place. In that Book thou wilt find earnest Exhortations to quicken thy Zeal, Rules to keep it up, pathetick Words to express thy wants whatsoever they be; and the more thou conversest with it, the more sensible thou wilt be, that it is an inexhaustible never-failing Treasury of Devotion. Besides thou approachest to the Throne of Grace with a surer confidence, and when thou puttest up the Prayers of the Church, thou hast a greater hope of being heard; thy Fire can't fail of being accepted, because it is not strange Fire: In short, to pray as the Church inditeth, is to bring the Church and the Blessings, which God more particularly deals in that Place, into thy Family and into thy most private Retirements.

* This Salvo will never excuse a Bishop, who ought (as Aaron did, Numb. 16. 48.) to do his Duty, even between the Dead and the Living. His Care of stopping the Plague of Non-conformity might have stopped the other; as Aaron stayed the Plague by making atonement for the people. So the Bishop's Endeavours to cure that Disease of the Soul might have pacified God's Anger, in order to put a stop to the Disease of the Body; by far the lesser of those two. Besides, as the Church in her excellent Prayer in the time of a Plague puts us in mind (and no other Prayer and Thanksgiving on that occasion needed, because none better could, have been made by Bishop Grindall [p. 70. and Append. p. 9.] for it may be said of the Prayers of our Service, that it is easier to frame longer than better) 'twas a Rebellion against Moses and Aaron,

“ But towards the latter end of this Year, by a peremptory
 “ Command from the ^h Queen to the Archbishop of Can-
 “ terbury, Uniformity in the Habits and Ceremonies was
 “ required of the Clergy ; whereas many hitherto, said she,
 “ had taken a liberty of varying from her Injunctions in
 “ this regard. The Archbishop (p. 97.) forthwith dis-
 “ patched his Letter to *Grindall*, and the rest of the Bishops.
 “ The greatest difficulty was to correct these neglects in
 “ London, where not a few wore neither Surplice, nor Tip-
 “ pet, nor Square-cap, nor used the other Ceremonies pre-
 “ scribed in the Book of *Common-Prayer*. And this work
 “ lay upon our Bishop ; who through this and some of the
 “ next Year frequently sat in Ecclesiastical Commission with
 “ the Archbishop and others to bring by all fair means the
 “ City-Clergy to Conformity. A work in truth this was,
 “ the Bishop went tenderly about, knowing the scarcity of
 “ Ministers at that time ; and therefore used all ⁱ Gentle-
 “ ness and Meekness with them ; but afterwards observing
 “ the Ignorance and Obstinacy of some, and the dangerous
 “ Principles of others, ^k striking at the very Ecclesiastical
 “ Order it self, he proceeded with more Resolution. In the
 “ beginning of this Work the Archbishop of *Canterbury*
 “ thought convenient to excite and quicken our Bishop now
 “ and then to set diligently upon reforming his *London-*
 “ Clergy especially ; otherwise ^l slow in his Proceedings

Aaron, which brought a Plague on the Israelites ; and who knows but that the stirs of those Schismaticks and Non-conformists against so good a Queen, and so purely reformed a Church, did bring that upon this Land ? Therefore the best way to have been rid of it was to have removed the Cause and Original.

^h A very commendable and true Church-zeal in this Queen toward keeping an Uniformity in the Church ; and thereby leaving no hole for Schism to creep in at. For let these Habits be accounted never so much *res nihili*, still the Scruples about them are the first Avenues, by which Schism steals in undiscovered : The Poison is let in through the Cloaths into the Body, and thence into the Heart ; and the Rain, which slides into a House by an inperceptible Crany, and therefore can't be so soon prevented, may nevertheless come to rot the whole Foundation.

ⁱ Far be it from me to speak against Gentleness, which ought to be used the first time a Fault is committed. But by what is observed before, this was not the first time the Queen had required Conformity.

^k By this we see the danger of those pretended Scruples about the Ecclesiastical Habits, whereby some were led to strike at the Order it self.

^l Well might he be slow in his Proceedings herein, since he himself had entertained some Scruples, and was not yet entirely clear from them, as will appear in the Year 1566.

“ against

“ against them; and by the Secretaries means the ^m Arch-
 “ bishop procured a special Letter from the Queen to him,
 “ to look particularly after Uniformity in those under his
 “ Charge in *London*. Which accordingly, seeing the ⁿ Ne-
 “ cessity thereof, he did. In *January* (the Plague slackening)
 “ a Visitation was held by Archdeacon *Mullins* at *St. Sep-
 “ pulcher’s*. On the 24th of *March* (p. 98.) the Use of the
 “ Scholars Gown and Cap was enjoined from that day for-
 “ ward; the Surplice to be worn at all Divine Administra-
 “ tions; the Observation of the Book of *Common-Prayer*;
 “ Subscription required to all this; or else an immediate
 “ Sequestration, and Deprivation after three Months stand-
 “ ing out. Many upon this were sequestred, and after-
 “ wards some deposed and deprived. Though (p. 104.)
 “ the Clergy of *London* had been so spurred up to Confor-
 “ mity, still many were backwards towards it. Insomuch
 “ that in the beginning of the Year 1566. the Archbishop
 “ warned the Bishop about it; and giving him notice of a
 “ Session of the Ecclesiastical Commission at *Lambeth*, ad-
 “ vised him to be there, in order to the dealing with some
 “ Ministers of his own Diocese. The Bishop writ to the
 “ Archbishop the 13th of *January*, * That he could hardly
 “ reduce things to Conformity, if he dealt in it alone; and
 “ wished the Lords of *Winton* and *Ely* might meet there,
 “ that it was best to confer first *de modo rei peragenda*, and
 “ that the Archbishop’s Chancellor should be present to di-
 “ rect them in point of Law. Soon after the Commission
 “ sitting, there were several sequestred, suspended, and de-
 “ prived. The Archbishop backed this Attempt for Con-
 “ formity, by a Book call’d, *The Book of Advertisements*, to

^m It had been well if Grindall had been as diligent to press his Clergy
 to Uniformity, as his good Metropolitan was to move him to it; for in all
 likelihood he finding his Letters were of little weight with the Bishop,
 was forced to have recourse to an Authority higher than his own to stir his
 slow Obedience.

ⁿ *Durum telum necessitas*. This Bishop could not be brought to press
 Uniformity, but by Necessity; an Argument so justifiable, that ’tis ur-
 ged by some Men to justify even Rebellion; so irresistible, that it may force
 People to resist all Powers but its own.

^o The Bishop, tho’ he durst not but submit to his Metropolitan, yet by
 seeking delays and pleading difficulties shewed he was not over-fond of the
 business; and (may be out of Humility and Modesty) was willing the
 Archbishop should have most of the Trouble, and all the Honour, being
 content to have been only passive in it, and to bear the least share.

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" be observed by the Clergy, by virtue of a Letter from the
 " Queen. The Articles of that Book were for Doctrine and
 " Preaching, Prayers and Sacraments, Orders in Ecclesi-
 " astical Polity, outward Apparel of Ecclesiasticks, with
 " a Protestation to be made to observe Uniformity in all
 " external Polity, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church.
 " This Book he sent to Bishop *Grindall* to be dispersed, re-
 " quiring him to be diligent to punish Recusants in his Dio-
 " cese, by Ecclesiastical Censures, since the Bishops by Act
 " of Parliament had Power to use them. And this the
 " Archbishop required and charged him to do, ^p as he
 " would answer to God. Thus he thought fit now and
 " then to call on the Bishop, who (p. 105.) was not for-
 " ward to use Extremities. And because of this, the Puri-
 " tan Party confided much in him: and gave out that my
 " Lord of *London* was their own, and all that he did was
 " upon a force and unwillingly; as they flatter'd them-
 " selves. During the Suspension aforementioned, divers
 " Churches were unserved, and great Clamours made:
 " for the more careful supply of which Vacancies, the Bi-
 " shop and Archbishop did consult; but the Archbishop
 " bore a great share in the burthen; insomuch that he com-
 " plained to the Secretary of State, that another Man's
 " Charge was laid upon him. Bishop *Grindall*, among o-
 " ther means he used to bring over the Dissenters to be sa-
 " tisfied with what was enjoined, published a Letter of
 " *Henry^a Bullinger's* the chief Minister of *Helvetia*, sent to
 " him

^p This pious Archbishop, moved with the Zeal of God's House, had
 first made use of his own Authority with the Bishop; which proving too
 weak against his deliberate Conscience, he to his Ecclesiastical Power ad-
 ded the Royal one, the Queen's: Then at last, these human means being not
 so cogent as he or any one might expect they would be, he endeavoured to
 overcome these struggling Scruples with an higher and a divine Argument;
 and arraigned his doubting Conscience at God's Tribunal.

^a Was there no Balm in Gilead? (Jerem. 8. 22.) no spiritual Physi-
 cian in England, to recover the health of these Dissenters? or was Bi-
 shop *Grindall* resolved to contrive that (since he declined it himself) the
 Honour of this great and useful Work should be the Helvetian Arch-Mi-
 nister's, rather than our Archbishop's, tho' he had born the burthen and
 heat of the day. However my Opinion of those, who were influenced to
 comply by that Letter is this; that in them it looked as if they liked
 more the Persuader, than the thing they were persuaded to; and valued
 the Advice and Principles of the Helvetian and Presbyterian more than

" him and two other Bishops, *Horn of Winton*, and *Park-*
 " *hurst of Norwich* concerning the Lawfulness of wearing
 " the Habits, drawn up for the satisfaction of *Sampson*
 " Dean of *Christ-Church*, and *Humphrey* President of *Mag-*
 " *dalen's*, whom the Queen was highly offended with for
 " continuing incomplicant. Bishop *Grindall* thanked *Bul-*
 " *linger* for his Letter in an Answer the 27th of *August*,
 " wherein (p. 107. 108, and Append. p. 19. 20.) he gives
 " him Thanks for his Care of our Churches; and acquaints
 " him that some Ministers had been moved by his Judgment
 " and Authority: That many of the People had now a
 " milder Opinion, since they understood, that the Church-
 " Rites were not condemned of Impiety by them, who did
 " not use the same: which none had been able to persuade
 " them to before the publishing of his Letter: That some still
 " remain'd unsatisfied, among whom *Humphrey* and *Sam-*
 " *son*: That he himself and the present Bishops, who were
 " ' Exiles in *Germany* and other Places, at their first return,
 " before they came to the Exercise of their Ministry, did
 " endeavour much and a long while, that these controver-
 " ted things might be quite removed: which having not
 " been able to obtain of the Queen and Parliament, they
 " consulted together, and agreed it was best not to forsake
 " our Churches for a few Rites, not impious in themselves,
 " chiefly when the pure Doctrine of the Gospel continues
 " entire and free, in which to this day (however many
 " strive for the contrary) they most fully consented with
 " their Churches, and Confession lately set forth: That
 " these Contentions concerning indifferent things edifie not,
 " but rend the Churches, and sow Discords among the Bre-
 " thren: The Bishop complained farther, That in *Scotland*
 " things were not so well settled, but yet that the Churches
 " retained the pure Confession of the Gospel; That the
 " Queen did all she could against it; and that she had
 " driven out of *Edinburg* ' *John Knox* the chief Minister

of our Episcopal Ministry. It was a very shrewd sign of the great Vene-
 ration they had for those Men, when a Dispensation from the first had
 more force than Commands and Arguments from the last; and *Bullin-*
ger's Letter was more persuasive than the Archbishop's Book of *Auer-*
tisements.

' *Indè caput morbi*. But I'll leave the Reader to make his Re-
 marks upon the whole Letter, whereby the Mind and Inclination of Bi-
 shop *Grindall*, and others his Fellow-Exiles is so clearly discovered.

' Read before p. 86. what Remark my Lord *Clarendon* gives of
 this *Knox*. " there

" there ; and would not be intreated to give him leave to
 " return. * The Bishop, when he was advanced to *York*,
 " sent a Letter to *Zanchy*, the 18th of *December*, in the
 " Year 1571 or 1572. about this same present Controversy,
 " (p. 106. 107, 108. Append. p. 21. 22, 23, 24.) by which
 " Letter it appears, that *Zanchy* had sent *Grindall* a Letter
 " for the Queen in behalf of these Refusers, that she would
 " not enforce the Use of these Rites ; but that *Grindall*
 " had applied about it to some in the highest Place in
 " the Church, and some Privy-Counsellors (among whom
 " we may conclude the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Secre-
 " tary *Cecyl* to be two), who unanimously concluded it best to
 " present no Letter to the Queen upon this Argument.
 " *Grindall* in his Answer to *Zanchy* acquainteth him, how
 " the Queen at the beginning of her Reign had, with the
 " Consent of the Parliament, reduced the Religion to what
 " it was in King *Edward's VI's* Reign : That in that Form
 " set up by King *Edward*, there were some commands con-
 " cerning the Ministers Habits, and some other things,
 " which some good Men wished abolished or mended ; but
 " the Authority of the Law hindred : That afterwards all
 " the Controversy arose from the Discipline, about a Gown,
 " Cap, Tippet, and Surplice : Some alledged, it was a
 " distinction of the Romish Priests from the Ministers of
 " the Gospel, and it was not lawful by such Obedience to
 " defile the Ministry : Some more " moderate Men would
 " not be compelled to obey the Rites, but blamed not those
 " that did : Some so defended those Habits, that they con-
 " tended, that " without them all holy Things were pro-
 " faned,

* I'll here insert the Contents of a Letter, tho' written five or six
 Years after, to shew that *Grindall*, at that time Archbishop of *York*,
 seemed to retain still the same Opinion, and to wish well to the removal
 of these controverted Rites of our Church. So hard is it to rid one's self
 of those Prejudices, which have been imbibed in those Presbyterian Congre-
 gations beyond Sea.

" By this I perceive the Pedigree of our present moderate Men, and
 that they are of a pretty ancient Family, long above an hundred Years
 standing : But that they need not brag of their descent, because the true
 and High-Church-Men are not a whit inferior to them in Antiquity.

" Which might be proved very plainly, but not in such few words as
 the present purpose of this Book requires. And besides such is the infatu-
 ation of Fanaticism, (no doubt, by the Artifice of the Enemy of true
 Christianity) that it is more offended with the Vestments, wherewith the

“ faned; and the Ministry deprived of a great Ornament,
 “ and the People of good Instruction: The greatest part
 “ thought it better to obey the Command (* as of two E-
 “ vils the less) than to go out of their Places. The contro-
 “ verted things (added *Grindall* in his Letter to *Zanchy*) are
 “ in Baptism the Questions and Answers, derived from mere
 “ Popery, useless to the Infants, and too hard to be per-
 “ formed by the Godfathers: Then the private Baptism:
 “ Genuflexion at the Lord’s Supper, and the use of unlea-
 “ vened Bread: Orders conferr’d by the Bishop alone: No
 “ preaching without a Licence: Canonical Obedience:
 “ The Authority and Dominion of Archbishops and Arch-
 “ Deacons in the Church forbidden by Scripture: And
 “ that some affirm, that a Presbytery in every single
 “ Congregation ought to be set up according to the De-
 “ cree of the Apostles: And thus they complain our
 “ Discipline in all its branches is lame and corrupted:
 “ And that then it was cautioned by Ecclesiastical Au-
 “ thority, that none should take or retain the Ministry,
 “ without allowing the forementioned things and others
 “ comprehended in a ^v certain Book, and subscribing that
 “ nothing was contained in that Book contrary to God’s
 “ Word. *Grindall* having thus shewn *Zanchy* the true State
 “ of the Matters in Controversy betwixt both Parties, which
 “ some said *Zanchy* knew not thoroughly, added what
 “ follows. * “ *Nec vero quis, quo minus id sibi facere liceat,*
 “ *consci-*

*Popish Mass is celebrated, than with the Mass it self; and it has no o-
 ther ground of hating any thing believed or done in that Religion, but be-
 cause it is Popish. Such strong Delusion, whereby the Devil hurries Men
 from one extreme to another, seldom is convinced without a Miracle and
 the particular Finger of God.*

* *Here’s Dissimulation, the constant attendant of Fanaticism, in per-
 fection. If the thing commanded be Evil, why must it be complied with?
 And if they upon that account forsake their ministerial Function, what are
 they accountable for? If there be any blame, it lies at the Doors, not
 theirs who are forced from it, but of them who impose those Terms. But
 in short, the best construction can be put upon such practice is, that (ac-
 cording to what they themselves will have the World believe) they do
 Evil that Good may come of it.*

^v *Libro quodam. The word quodam seems to have somewhat of
 Contempt in it.*

* *I have here inserted the Bishop’s own words, lest I should alter their
 meaning and emphasis in the least by a Translation. They indeed ought*

not

“ *conscientiæ queratur aculeos, vel siquid aliud contra afferat, ad*
 “ *causæ præsidium valere ea quicquam possunt, rectène an secus,*
 “ *in medio relinquo. Neque enim alicujus vel factum vel institutum*
 “ *improbandi causâ hunc mihi laborem susceptum putes :*
 “ *Ipsos enim homines sententiis inter se variantes propter*
 “ *summam eorum pietatem, doctrinam, auctoritatem utro-*
 “ *bique colo, venerorque. De rebus nullum meum interpo-*
 “ *no judicium. Siquid inter narrandum in alteram partem*
 “ *præponderare videbitur, id ad rei majorem explicationem,*
 “ *non affectibus indultum existimabis.* Afterwards in the same
 Letter he tells *Zanchy*, “ that since it would be dangerous
 “ and of an uncertain Event to write to the Queen, he ad-
 “ vised him to help these Churches some other way. * As
 “ first to move the Bishops themselves by Letters, that they
 “ may persuade and earnestly by all the best possible means
 “ work upon the Queen, to amend what things bred Offen-
 “ ces, and hindered the course of the Gospel ; and next, if
 “ they could not obtain their wish, that they would, in the
 “ execution of the Penalties, be somewhat milder (*leviores*)
 “ and more inclined to *Toleration*, towards their Brethren
 “ and Fellow-Ministers, especially them, who have the
 “ ^b heavy weight of Conscience upon them. * More to this
 “ purpose may be read in the Letter.

Beza about this time, Ann. 1566. July 27. (pag. 112,
 113, 114.) “ earnestly pressed the Bishop and his Colleagues,
 “ to recommend to the Queen, the promoting in *England*,

not only to be read in the very Language they were written in, but care-
 fully noted ; and I am mistaken, if the Reader does not discover this
 Man's Tenderness, and even Veneration for, and a great fear of but
 seeming, by the interposition of his Judgment in the things controver-
 ted to condemn those Dissenters ; or by his Narrative, for affection sake, to
 turn the Scale on either side.

* 'Tis now (beyond the possibility of a Doubt) evident, on what side
 the Bishop turns the Scales ; by his Advice, in order to remove what things
 gave Offence (and he told us before what they were), or else to grant a
 Toleration to their Brethren and Fellow-Ministers : *Erga fratres & com-*
ministros suos velint esse ad Tolerantiam propensiores.

^b I'm afraid the weight of most dissenting Consciences lies heavier upon
 the poor Church than upon them.

^c However there is in these two Letters enough to prove, that *Grindall*
 would first by himself, and then by others, have deluded the Queen into
 the Genevian Discipline, by removing from our Church those things before
 enumerated, to satisfy the unsatisfiable Consciences of our squeemish cla-
 morous Brethren,

“ a Sub-

“ a Subscription to such a Confession of Faith, as had been
 “ subscribed by the *French, Genevan* and other Reformed
 “ Churches, with whom (he made no doubt) the *English*
 “ Church agreed in Doctrine : The like also he wisht to be
 “ done in *Scotland*. He next argued with, and beseeched
 “ the Bishop, that they two might confer together a little
 “ concerning the religious Contentions on foot in *England*.
 “ ^d That the sum of the Queen’s commands as represented
 “ by Letters from *England* into *France* and *Germany*, were,
 “ to admit again not only those Garments, the signs of
 “ *Baal’s* Priests in Popery, but also certain Rites, which
 “ were degenerated into the worst superstitions ; as the sign-
 “ ing with the Cross ; kneeling in the Communion, and
 “ such like. And which is still worse, that Women should
 “ baptize, and that the * Queen should have a Power of
 “ superinducing other Rites, and that all Power should be
 “ given to the ** Bishop alone, in ordering the Matters of
 “ the Church ; and no Power, not so much as of com-
 “ plaining, to remain to the Pastor of each Church. And
 “ that the * * Queen’s Majesty, and many of the Bishops had

^d These were fit Correspondents and Counsellors for an English Bishop, who were so bitter and even profane in exposing the most devout and religious Ceremonies of our Church, such as are the Cross in Baptism, and Kneeling in the Communion. But this learned furious Calvinist understood, whom he writ to : and this I have to say for Beza, that if he was a bold busie body, he was no Hypocrite, and professed ever his Religion to be such, as needed no mending. I have here transcribed the more of Beza’s Letter, that the busie Calvinistical Zeal of that time, to extirpate the wholesome Ceremonies of our Church, and to reduce the same to the Genevan Model may be display’d in its right colours ; and that, if our Church was not then swallowed up by the Dissenters, assisted by their Geneva Brethren, we are for its Deliverance, under God, obliged to the Resolution of the Queen more than to Grindall with all his Counsellors and Abettors. Besides, that, by making a comparison, it may appear, that the Prejudices of our present Dissenters agree with the old ones ; and that being grown inveterate they are so much the harder to be conquered, and consequently the more dangerous and likely to bring (if they might without restraint do what they would) a total subversion of our Church Constitution. But I hope God will, as then, so now and for ever disappoint these Mens designs against the * Civil Magistracy as well as ** against the Ecclesiastical Power. It becomes, in the mean time, every true Church man in his Station, as he has opportunity, to vindicate the just and divine Rights of these two from all Intruders and Usurpers.

* * Bishop Grindall might, but I have reason to think the Queen never did, from the noble opposition she made against this torrent of Fanaticism.

“ promised

“ promised far better things. And that he had writ to
 “ his Friends, that many of these Matters were feign-
 “ ed or wrested; And that he was of the Opinion of
 “ them, who thought nothing ought to be added to the
 “ Apostolical Simplicity; and that without exception,
 “ whatsoever the Apostles did, ought to be done by us;
 “ and^f whatsoever the Church, that succeeded the Apo-
 “ stles, added to the first Rites, was to be abolished at once.
 “ That on the other side there were some, who were of Op-
 “ nion, that certain ancient Rites ought to be retained,
 “ partly as profitable and necessary; partly, if not ne-
 “ cessary, yet to be tolerated for concord sake. And in
 “ fine, he knew not by what Right either the Civil Ma-
 “ gistrate^g of himself might superinduce new Rites, or
 “ abrogate ancient ones; or the Bishops might appoint any
 “ new thing without the Judgment and Will of their Pres-
 “ bytery.

“ To this Letter the Bishop no doubt gave an Answer,
 “ which is past Recovery. “ *An. 1567. (p. 114, 115, 116,*
 “ *117, 118, 119.)* the Puritans grew into two Factions.
 “ The one would not use the Habits, nor subscribe to the
 “ Ceremonies, the Kneeling at the Sacrament, Cross in
 “ Baptism, Ring in Marriage; but held to the Commu-
 “ nion of the Church, and join’d with the Common Pray-
 “ ers. The other disliked the whole Church-Constitution,
 “ as full of Antichristian Corruptions, especially the Ha-

^f *How dangerous these fanatical mad Positions are, how derogatory to the just deference due to primitive Apostolical Churches, how absurd in their Consequences; is obvious to any sober considering Men. And to give but one instance; must we pull down our Churches because the Apostles had none? On the other side, the Apostles anointed the Sick; why then is Extreme Unction laid aside among the Protestants? Many other incongruities, not to be reckoned up here, would follow, if these Propositions above mention’d were granted.*

^g *Beza here does not know, that our Princes Custom is, and has been, to advise with their Clergy and Convocation in things relating to the Rites of the Church; and that the Bishops resolve on no alterations in the same, without laying the Case before the Lower House of Convocation, and having their Consent. It is business of more deliberation than this Foreigner thinks, to have any Ceremony brought in or removed out of our Service; and ’tis the glory of our Church not to be fickle; but as steady and primitive in her Ceremonies as orthodox and apostolick in her Faith.*

“ bits.

“ bits. These last ^b separated themselves into private As-
 “ semblies, had Ministers of their own, used a Book of
 “ Prayers framed for the late *English* Exiles at *Geneva*, over-
 “ seen and allowed by *Calvin* and his Divines, and taken
 “ for the most part out of the *Geneva* Form. This gave Of-
 “ fence to the Queen, who issued out her Letters subscribed
 “ by her Privy-Council to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners;
 “ to move these Dissenters first gently to Conformity, or for
 “ the first Punishment to lose their Freedom, and after to
 “ abide what would follow. On the 19th of *June*, four-
 “ teen or fifteen of the chief of about an hundred Persons
 “ met at *Plummers-Hall* upon ⁱ pretence of keeping a Wed-
 “ ding, were by the Sheriffs sent to the *Compter*, and the
 “ next day sent for before the Lord Mayor, Bishop *Grindall*,
 “ and the other Commissioners. The Bishop reproved them
 “ for their disorderliness, wished them to forbear for the
 “ future, produced the Queen’s Letters, shew’d they were
 “ guilty of Lying; declared to them gravely and gently,
 “ how they condemned the whole State of our Reformed
 “ Church. One of them answer’d, that they only stood to
 “ the Truth of God’s Word: and *John Smith* the ancientest
 “ of them being by the Bishop allowed to speak, said, that
 “ all who would not subscribe, being displaced, they could
 “ hear none for seven or eight Weeks except Father *Cover-*
 “ *dale*; that he with the rest would do Penance at *St. Paul’s*
 “ Cross, if the Bishop and the Commissioners could by God’s
 “ Word reprove the Book used by them, as formerly by the
 “ Exiles at *Geneva*. The Bishop urged this was no Answer
 “ for not going to Church. *Smith* said, he had as lieve go
 “ to Mass, as to his Parish-Church, where he, that officia-
 “ ted, was a very Papist. The Bishop mentioned to them
 “ some Places in *London*, and some Ministers, who preached,
 “ ^k being dispensed with, tho’ they wore not the Habits,
 “ besides *Coverdale*. The Bishop alledged against them *Bul-*
 “ *linger’s* Judgment, the Practice of *Geneva* for communica-

^b From that Spawn sprung our Dissenters. Of those two Puritan Fa-
 ctions, the last dealt more ingenuously, and professed an open defiance to
 the Church: the first acted more hypocritically, and like false Brethren;
 somewhat allied, and by not many removes, to the Whigs and Low-Church-
 men of our days.

ⁱ Puritans or Dissenters strain at a Surplice, but swallow lying.

^k I would know when, and by whom, and wherefore this Dispensation
 was given.

“ ting

“ting in Wafer-cakes, and a Letter from thence disap-
 “proving their Separation. The Bishop occasionally say-
 “ing, he had said Mass, and was ¹ sorry for it, one of
 “them replied, that he went like a Mass-Priest still. To
 “whom he ^m gently said, that he wore a Cope and a Sur-
 “plice in *Paul's*, yet had rather minister without these
 “things, but for Order-sake, and Obedience to the Queen.
 “One *Nixon*, the hottest of those Dissenters, used irre-
 “verend Speeches to the Bishops, and reflected on the
 “Queen, which ⁿ somewhat provoked the mild Bishop to
 “bid them forbear, and desire the Lord Mayor to take no-
 “tice of it. One of them had delivered the *Geneva-Book* to
 “Justice *Harris*, and challenged any of the Commission to
 “reprove it by God's Word, and they would leave it. The
 “Bishop said, they ^o reprov'd it not, but liked not their
 “gathering together disorderly. This and divers things
 “were argued *pro* and *con*; but they in their ^p Words and
 “Car-

¹ What Bishop Grindall means by his having said *Mass*, I can't under-stand; for I don't find he was ever a Popish Priest. He can't mean the Church Service, where the Communion is call'd the *Mass*, in K. Edward's Reign, when An. 1556. he was Bishop Ridley's Chaplain, for why should he be sorry for that?

^m None can wonder at his gentle behaviour toward these Dissenters, when he seems to take their Rebuke so gently, and to excuse himself for wearing a Habit, for which he owns he had no Inclination. Truly, were it not for his Occasional (since it was not hearty) Conformity to those Habits, I think 'twere Justice to rank him among the forementioned first sort of Puritans.

ⁿ A Mildness beyond that of Moses (who was the meekest Man upon the Earth, Numb. 12. 3.) to be but somewhat provoked, when the Supreme Magistrate and the Church are reviled.

^o Twice these Puritans challenged the Bishop to make Objections against, and reprove by God's Word their Geneva-Form; but the Bishop evaded their Challenge first by not accepting it; and after by giving up the Question, owning that he did not reprove (another Phrase for to approve) their Form of Worship. If the Bishop did not reprove Calvin's Form, it is not altogether unlikely, that, had he been left to his liberty, 'twould have been indifferent to him, which to use, that or ours. Such Indifference I could not like in any, much less in a Bishop.

^p A very useful Lesson we may learn (and who dares refuse to learn, what Bishop Grindall teaches, and by his own Experience too) that these Dissenters are unquiet and irreclaimable, tho' dealt with never so mildly and patiently; the more they are bore with, the more rude and insolent they grow; and (as the Reverend Historian tells us, p. 119.) Beza

Q

himself,

“ Carriage rudely treated our mild Bishop, and afterwards
 “ very severely and highly slandered him in Print. Who
 “ finding them irreclaimable, abated much of the Favour
 “ he was inclinable to shew them ; and observing their un-
 “ quiet Dispositions was some Years after provoked to ex-
 “ press himself somewhat severely against them.

“ *Beza, An. 1567. Oct. 24.* (Append. p. 37, 38, 39, 40,
 “ 41, 42, 43.) sent a ^a Letter from *Geneva* to certain Bre-
 “ thren of the *English* Churches upon some Controversies in
 “ the Ecclesiastical Polity. In this Letter, *Beza* beseeches
 “ God and the Queen to grant to *England* a lawful calling
 “ of the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments ; and likes
 “ not, that, according to the Bishop's Pleasure Power should
 “ be given to preach God's Word for a time, or to say on-
 “ ly the Liturgy ; tho' he dreads at the same time, that
 “ the Ministry should be executed contrary to the Queen's
 “ and the Bishop's Will. He will not allow the use of
 “ those Habits used by the Papists, because by them Pa-
 “ pists are confirm'd in their old Superstition ; and those,
 “ that are better informed, reap no ^r Fruit from them.

himself, otherwise a great Favourer of this sort of Men, disapproved their
 behaviour in a Letter to our Bishop, wherein he commends his Lenity and
 Patience.

^a This Letter Mr. Strype saith is the same, with that which was
 produced by the Bishop to the Dissenters (p. 118.) ; but he placeth the
 Bishop's Dispute with them the next day after the 19th of June 1567.
 (p. 115.) which was long before the Date of the Letter. But 'tis likely
 either the Printer has committed an Error, or else that Dispute was not
 all at one time. However the Letter is so remarkable for its severe In-
 vectives against our Ceremonies, that I thought fit to give a short account
 of it, to shew the Temper of those Calvinists, as well as of our Dissen-
 ters, who labour under much the same Prejudices. Those Prejudices be-
 ing at bottom grounded upon these two erroneous Notions, that every thing
 ought to be rejected, which the Apostles gave no Order for in the New
 Testament ; and nothing allowed, which is in use among the Papists : I
 suppose they'll not weigh much unless with some unreasonable Men, who
 place their Religion in having as little outward and decent Worship as they
 can, and in being any thing but Papists. I have this Reason besides for
 mentioning this Letter here, because *Beza* was one of the chief Confidants
 of Bishop Grindall.

^r What Fruit do the Dissenters reap from a Band, broad Hat, Cloak,
 and a constant use of black Cloths ? and all these are wore by the Papists,
 and hardly any of them all by the Apostles.

“ ^r He

" ' He thinks alternate Singing a manifest Corruption of the
 " pure and ancient praising of God ; the Sign of the Cross
 " to be banished out of the Churches, because the Supersti-
 " tion of it is execrable, and the Use novel ; the question-
 " ing of Children to be baptized, to be imputed to the ne-
 " gligence of Bishops, who retain the Form used in the adult
 " Catechumens ; kneeling, while the Elements are receiv'd,
 " to have a shew of pious Worship, but, because it has
 " been corrupted into Bread-Worship, to be taken away.
 " He accounts Baptism by Midwives to be ' intolerable ;
 " lastly he allows not of the Right of Excommunication
 " to be in the Power of one, but of the Presbytery, and the
 " People not wholly excluded.

" About this time (p. 120.) none were permitted to
 " preach in *London* without a Licence from Archbishop or
 " Bishop ; and *An. 1568.* (p. 121.) these Non-conformists
 " Puritans, by means of the Queen's Commissioners and
 " Secretary, were encouraged to go preach in *Scotland*, with
 " commendatory Letters. But they in " *May* returned a-
 " gain, and pursued their former Practices ; which Bishop
 " *Grindall* disliked of, and (p. 122.) advised the Secretary
 " to have them summoned (as they had formerly been) be-
 " fore the Council. *Evans*, one of those Puritans, of more
 " Simplicity than the rest, reported, as an Argument for
 " their going back, that at *Dunbar* on *Good Friday*, Men
 " went bare-footed and bare-legg'd to Church, and crept
 " to the Cross. The Bishop, by Letters from above, made

" Singing and praising God can't be a Corruption, for 'tis allowed in
 Scripture and used in Heaven. Alternate singing and praising God is cer-
 tainly allowable ; for where's the harm of praising God by turns ? why
 should not every one bear his part in it ? Read also Dr. Comber on the
 Common-Prayer, Part 1. Sect. 6. As for the Sign of the Cross
 and Questioning of Children, and Kneeling at the receiving of the Ele-
 ments ; consult the final Rubrick, and the Exhortation to the Godfathers
 and Godmothers, in publick Baptism ; and the Admonition after the Ru-
 bricks of the Communion-Service.

" I find it not allowed by any Direction or Rubrick (that I know of)
 in the Common-Prayer. Dr. Sparrow in his *Rationale*, quotes this
 Canon, Concil. Matiscon. 2. c. 3. Dist. de Consec. 4. c. 16, 17. Eli-
 bert. Con. c. 38. Anno 313. He that is baptized himself, may in a
 Case of Necessity baptize, if there be no Church near.

" A Month as fatal then for the Return of Presbytery, as happy since
 for the Return of the King, and the Restoration of the Church.

“ a search after secret Conventicles of Anabaptistical Fo-
 “ reigners, and others infected with odd Opinions, who
 “ from time to time had, under a pretence of a Liberty of
 “ professing the Gospel, convey’d themselves into *England*;
 “ and he put Sir *William Cecil* upon it, sending him the Ar-
 “ ticles of Enquiry used in the former search in *November*
 “ and *December*, *An. 1567.* and the Queen’s Proclamation,
 “ *An. 1560. Sept. 22.* * forbidding upon pain of Imprisonment all secret Congregations, Reading, Preaching,
 “ Ministering, or using any Divine Service, by any Minister or other, except in open Chapels and Churches according to the Order of the Church of *England*, &c.
 “ (p. 122, 123.) This Year (p. 128, 129, 130, 131, 132.) arose great Differences among the Members of the
 “ *Dutch Congregation in London*, chiefly about Godfathers and Godmothers, which many would have laid aside, but the Ministers stood for it. Whereupon some Theological Propositions or Articles (Append. p. 45. to p. 52.)
 “ in number 32. were drawn up to end all Controversies, sent to *Geneva* for Approbation, and allowed by *Beza* and others, *An. 1568. June 25.* then encouraged by Bishop
 “ *Grindall* their Superintendent, and printed in Latin and Dutch, then in Latin and English by *Jugg* the Queen’s
 “ Printer, with a Preface to the Reader from the *Dutch Church*, dated *An. 1568. Sept. 18.* The 31st of these
 “ Articles gave some colour for inferiour Magistrates to resist the Highest in some extraordinary Cases: The Words
 “ are these (Append. p. 51.) — ‘ If he, who is confirmed
 “ in

* This Proclamation extended not only to Anabaptists, but to all other Sectaries; and I think our mild Bishop was in this case very partial to revive it against the Anabaptists now, when he had let it sleep all along before with respect to other Sectaries. But the good Man forsooth (as the Historian hinteth, p. 124.) had an Eye upon another sort of Men in the City, namely Papists; towards whom if he were not so mild as to the Sectaries, I could bring him off with a very good Plea, that he wisely understanding the secret Springs of things, and the chief Movers of them, used the one more mercifully than the other, looking upon the last but as Tools or Accessories, the first as their (tho’ concealed) Foremen or Principals.

† A rebellious Doctrine revived again by Benj. Hoadley, and that treacherous Crew, his Defenders and Patrons, in our days. A Doctrine, which

“ in the Office of a Magistrate, do wrongfully spoil his Subjects of
 “ the Privileges and Liberty, which he has sworn to them, or by
 “ open Tyranny oppress them; then ought the ordinary Magi-
 “ strate to oppose him, who, according to God and their Duty,
 “ ought to defend the Subjects, as well against Domestical as Fo-
 “ reign Tyrants.

which Beza and the Genevian Divines reproved thus. (Append. p. 51.)
 In the 31st Art, which seems to arm Inferior Magistrates against
 the Superior, we are forced [ἐπείχεν] to forbear our Assent; not
 only because 'tis very dangerous, in our times especially, to open such
 a Window; but also because this matter seems not simply to be ar-
 gued (as the thing is handled of you in this Thesis) but from very
 many and weighty Circumstances. In this Aphorism therefore we
 abstain, and that not at all out of any fear of Men, but that we pro-
 nounce nothing rashly in a matter of so great moment. *Modest Beza!*
are very many and weighty Circumstances other Words for Total Sub-
version? This shamefac'd Calvinist startles at Opposition and Resi-
stance, in a Case of open Tyranny and Oppression; and is as much afraid
to pronounce for it rashly, as my Lord of Salisbury (in the last Para-
graph of his Speech) to condemn it crudely and generally. Mr. Strype
(p. 132.) mentions, An. 1569. a Letter of a French-man (to John
Cousin, one of the Ministers of the French Strangers Church) who
makes it not lawful for any Cause to take up Arms against the Supreme
Magistrate. This Man too is not for Salisbury-Principles, for he con-
demns all Resistance in crude and general Terms. Neither does Bishop
Sandys come up to my Lord of Sarum's pitch, in his four Articles expla-
natory (p. 132.) of the forementioned Proposition caused to be signed,
Dec. 18. 1570. for in the second he denies that extraordinary Examples
may be made use of, and in the third he asserts that the Ungodly and
Papist Magistrates must be owned and acknowledged by the Godly for their
Superiors. And in the fourth, that it is not permitted to the Godly,
who are put in Fetters and Imprisonment by the Supreme Power upon ac-
count of Religion, to break Prison by Violence, or by any other means, which
are contrary to Laws, to deliver themselves, or to release others by the
like means. But now I think on't; our modern Casuists in Rebellion will
(ten to one) shelter themselves (and a bad shift is better than none)
under these Words, which are contrary to the Laws, [tho' I ne'er was
shewn a Law, which recited any Cases, wherein it is lawful to resist: and
if they should produce one Instance of any Revolution brought about by
Resistance, That single Act, which establishes it, relates only to that
single time, and does not expressly say, that it shall be lawful upon the
like occasion to do at any time the same thing again]. Yet let them
make the best of it; the Opinion of one Man can no more prove a Do-
ctrine, than one Instance make a Law general, and be a bar to the use of
crude and general Terms in condemning Resistance.

" The Bishop pitying the Condition of divers Separatists,
 " who had been kept in *Bridewel* for about a Twelve-month,
 " and could not with all his endeavours be reclaimed,
 " (*pag. 135.*) moved the Secretary to obtain an Order from
 " the Council to release them; which (*pag. 136.*) being
 " granted, the Bishop discharged twenty four, besides seven
 " Women; letting them understand, that if after their En-
 " largement any one of them carried themselves factiously
 " and disorderly again, they must expect severe Punishment
 " to the Example of others. These Separatists (*pag. 153,*
 " *154.*) who in the beginning of this Year had by the Bi-
 " shop's Favour been set at Liberty, did continue their for-
 " mer practices. Their chief Teachers were *Bonham* and
 " *Crane*, who did use the *Geneva-Book*, filed by them, *the*
 " *most sincere Order*; for which having been taken up,
 " obtained their Liberty again; *Bonham* promising un-
 " der his Hand not to preach or to be present at any
 " preaching in private, contrary to the Laws of the
 " Land, had liberty from the Bishop to preach: ² But
 " *Bonham*, and *Crane*, who had promised the like, little re-
 " garding their Promise, proceeded to do as they had done
 " before; so the first, by the Bishop's Order, was taken up
 " again, and *Crane* forbid to preach any more in his Dio-
 " cesis. Upon this the *Londoners* of their Party made their
 " supplication to the Council, that having for ' Conscience
 " sake been a Year kept in Prison, and then deliver'd the
 " 23d of *April* by a Letter from the Council; that the Bishop
 " had said he would tolerate and appoint two or three to
 " minister Baptism according to the *Geneva Book*; and that
 " immediately after, at their request, he had under his
 " Hand appointed *Bonham* and *Crane* to keep a Lecture;
 " that the first for marrying a couple, and baptizing one by
 " the Order of the said Book, was by the Bishop's com-
 " mand kept close Prisoner, and the other forbidden preach-

² What good did Indulgence to these incorrigible People do them, since
 as often as the Bishop returned to his beloved and natural Meekness to-
 wards them, so often they returned to their as beloved and natural Stub-
 borneess: And at last, as a Specimen of schismatical Ingratitude, take the
 Confidence to complain against their Benefactor, who (to give him his due)
 deserved no pity, if he was stung by those Vipers he had warmed in his
 Breast.

³ What will not Schism prompt Men to? They plead Conscience, who
 made none of breaking their Word; and thought that, because they were
 discharged from Prison, they were also discharged from their Promise.

ing

ing in his Diocese : And that they humbly begg'd their
 Bodies and Goods be no more molested for standing fast
 in the same sincerity of the Gospel, that they did when
 they were in Prison ; protesting that they yielded to no
 other Condition, when they came out of it. The Council
 sent a Letter with this supplication to the Bishop, (the
 29th of *December*) who was closely touched with it, and
 dispatched an Answer the 4th of *January*, (p. 154, 155,
 156.) wherein he setteth forth, what he had advised the
 Secretary to, and what Order he had received from the
 Council in relation to these Men ; how *Bonham* and *Crane*
 did keep no promise, and how untruly these Men did bur-
 den him ; and that his Opinion is, that all the Heads of
 this Faction be with all expedition severely punished, to
 the Example of others, as People phanatical and ^b incu-
 rable : Which Punishment, if by Order from the Coun-
 cil, should breed the greater Terror. And ^c because all
 Prisoners, for any colour of Religion, be it never so
 wicked, find great supportation and comfort in *London*,
 six of the most desperate be sent to the common Goal of
Cambridge, and six to *Oxford*, some and other of them to
 other Goals near hereabouts.

Having described Bishop *Grindall's* dealings, and Confe-
 rences with the *Puritans* partly at home and partly abroad,
 I must now give an account of his Behaviour to the *Papists*.

“ *Ann.* 1561. *Apr.* 17. at a Visitation he had one *Sebastian*
 “ *Westcot*, lesser Canon of *St. Paul's*, presented for refusing the
 “ Communion, and suspicion of adhering to Popish Princi-
 “ ples ; whom he for that respited until *July* *Ann.* 1563.
 “ (p. 59, 77.) when he excommunicated him for obstinacy,
 “ though he was favoured by the Lord *Robert Dudley*, a
 “ great Favourite. Dr. *Philip Barker* a favourer of Popery
 “ (pag. 62.) Rector of *St. Andrews*, was deprived *An.* 1561.
 “ and *An.* 1569. by a Royal Visitation (pag. 142, 143,

^b This is the Character Bishop *Grindall* bestows on that Party ; and
 these are the wholesome severities, which he thinks they deserve ; (insa-
 nabile vulnus——) and which if he had used sooner, he had done a very
 great service to the Church, the Queen and himself. But the mild Bishop
 was never moved till almost a total subversion ; and then, better late
 than never.

^c A special and remarkable Censure passed upon the City of *London* by
 so mild and patient a Diocesan.

“ 144, 145) procur'd through Bishop *Grindall's* means, was
 “ declared deprived of his Provostship of *King's-College* ;
 “ but he appearing not, fled : And so, by the interposition
 “ of the Bishop with the Secretary, Dr. *Goad* was named by
 “ the Queen to succeed Dr. *Barker*. *Grindall* (pag. 62.) was
 “ also *An. 1561.* applied to, by the Commissioners for
 “ *Queen's-College* in *Oxford*, for his Help and Advice, in
 “ order to restrain the mad and enraged Motions of those
 “ Collegians, who being Papistical made a Tumult, and
 “ endeavoured to oppose one *Francis*, to whom the Queen
 “ by her Mandatory Letters had granted the Headship of
 “ *Queen's*. *An. 1562.* (pag. 66.) the Council sent Letters
 “ dated *March 11.* to the Bishop and Sheriff *Bond*, to seize
 “ and commit such Persons as they should find present at
 “ Mafs, to search Houses where private Mafs was used, and
 “ Collections made for Priests and others, that were fled
 “ out of the Kingdom, known Enemies to the Queen, and
 “ settled at *Lovain* and other Places. *An. 1563.* (pag. 78,
 “ 79.) *Watson*, late Bishop of *Lincoln*, and after him *Fecken-*
 “ *ham* late Abbot of *Westminster*, (which were of them who
 “ in 1558 were appointed to dispute about some Papistical
 “ Principles with *Grindall* and seven more Divines, pag. 24.)
 “ were removed the first from the *Tower*, the last from
 “ Dr. *Goodman's*, Dean of *Westminster*, to our Bishop's House ;
 “ but he got himself released of both, the first being sent to
 “ the Bishop of *Ely*, the other to the Bishop of *Winton*.
 “ *An. 1566.* (pag. 111.) he reviews the second Book of *Now-*
 “ *el*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, against *Dorman* an English Fugi-
 “ tive (who had, in a Book against Bishop *Jewel*, slander'd
 “ the Reformation) in vindication of the Queen's proceed-
 “ ings against the Papists. And (pag. 112.) because he had
 “ licensed *James Calfhill's* Answer to a Popish Book, intit-
 “ led, *A Treatise of the Cross*, he was by one *John Marshal*,
 “ in a Book published at *Lovain*, challenged as well as all
 “ the other Bishops (who by this *Marshal* were call'd *super-*
 “ *intendents of the New Church of England*) to shew, whe-
 “ ther the Doctrines of *Calfhill's* Book were the Doctrines of
 “ the New Church of *England*, justifiable by God's Word,
 “ the Fathers of the Church, and General-Councils ; but
 “ the Bishop had other work to do than to comply with
 “ such a picker of Quarrels. *An. 1568.* in *February* (pag.
 “ 124, 125.) by Order of Council, the Bishop sent *Wats* his
 “ Chaplain, to search *John Stow* the Antiquary's House for
 “ Popish Books, an inventory of which was sent to the
 “ Council.

" Council. In this same Year (pag. 133.) complaints came
 " concerning the prevalency of Popery in *Oxford*; parti-
 " cularly in *Corpus Christi*, (who preferred one *Harrison* in-
 " clined to Popery, before *Cole* once an Exile, appointed by
 " the Queen to be their President) in *New-College* and that
 " of *Winchester*: The Bishop of *Winchester*, their Visitor,
 " writ to Archbishop *Parker*, that the irregularities of those
 " Colleges were not to be remedied but by an Ecclesiastical
 " Commission; which the Bishop of *London* approved of,
 " having been acquainted with it by the Archbishop. In
 " the Year 1569 (pag. 137.) the Bishop consulted with the
 " Secretary for the Reformation of the *Inns of Court*, which
 " had harboured many popishly inclined. He also (pag.
 " 138.) endeavoured to reclaim Sir *John Southworth*, a Pa-
 " pist, placed under an easy Confinement in his House:
 " And (pag. 139.) by direction from the Council, made a
 " search for *Whyte* and *Creyche* suspected *Irish-men*, in vain,
 " for they were gone. The Bishop (though very unwilling
 " to be troubled with such Guests) had several Papists com-
 " mitted to his Trust; the Bishop of *Ross*, Q. *Mary's* Agent,
 " *Milerius* an *Irish-man*, and *Michael Hare*, Esq; (pag. 150,
 " 151, 152.) that he might bring them to Conformity in the
 " Religion established; but he grew weary of them, and they
 " still stood fast to their Principles. * He was by the Coun-
 " cil appointed, with the other Ecclesiastical Commis-
 " sioners, to call several Popish Gentlemen known to reside
 " in the *Temple*, as Students of the Law; and to put inter-
 " rogatories to them, concerning their frequenting the *Tem-
 " ple-Church* and Communion; going to hear Mass cele-
 " brated in the *Temple*, *White-Friars* and the *Spittal*; having
 " and reading Books of *Harding*, *Dorman*, and others, a-
 " gainst the Queen's Supremacy, &c. Some of these after
 " Examination were committed to the *Fleet*.

* I observe that this Prelate was not guilty of much severity, not even
 against the Papists themselves; in which business he had no greater hand
 than the rest of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; or when he was by Let-
 ters from the Council directed to act in that matter. Nor do I find him
 to have had much, or any success in the Conversion of any, either Puri-
 tan or Papist. Having thus accounted for Grindall in the Capacity of
 a Bishop, I must not wrong him in passing by his other Capacity of Super-
 intendent over the London Foreign Churches; which Title he esteemed,
 and valued himself upon, as much as, or rather more, than the other; be-
 cause in the History of his Life, while Bishop, the discharge of that Super-
 intendency and correspondence with foreign Calvinists and other Divines,

more necessary to the Superintendent than the Bishop, takes up the greatest or most busy part. It may be alledged (for I would deal fairly) that time has been unkind to his Memory, by preserving and transmitting to us more of his dealings with Foreigners than with our Church Affairs. I shall but lightly and briefly touch Superintendent Grindall's Office; being much fonder of Bishop Grindall's Office and Acquaintance; and yet not a great admirer of him in both.

" Superintendent Grindall (p. 41. to p. 48) was the Dutch or German Church's great Advocate and Friend; and therefore
 " very conversant with John Utenhovius their chief Elder, and
 " formerly Assistant to Alasco. He had much trouble with A-
 " contius and Hamstedius touched with Anabaptistical and A-
 " rian Principles, who with divers of their Followers shrowded
 " themselves under the Wings of this Church. An. 1560.
 " in September he communicated to Utenhovius and Deloene,
 " a supplication from some Men of the Low-Countries, for a
 " free exercise of their Religion, but in some Points differ-
 " ring from the Dutch Church's Doctrines: and signified to
 " them, he would do nothing without first acquainting them
 " with it, who by reason of their daily Experience knew
 " the depth of the Sect better than he. Hamstedius, one of
 " the Dutch Ministers, favouring the Anabaptists, was con-
 " ventioned before the Superintendent, and by him suspended;
 " as also Acontius, an adherer to this Man, was by his Sen-
 " tence withheld from the Sacrament, the Dutch or any
 " other Church being forbidden to admit him. Some of their
 " favourers were to be excommunicated An. 1561. in April,
 " but the Excommunication was deferred, upon signifi-
 " cation of a better Mind. Hamstedius had a form of Re-
 " nunciation drawn for him, but refused to subscribe it.
 " Cassiodorus the Spanish Preacher, having hitherto, by the Su-
 " perintendent's Advice, exercised religious Worship in pri-
 " vate Houses, put up a supplication to him, An. 1560.
 " for a more publick Place to serve God; and a Spanish
 " Church remain'd in London some Years after, where An-
 " tonius Corranus was Preacher, accused of Pelagianism, a
 " Man (pag. 125, 126.) of good Learning, but of an hasty
 " and somewhat contentious Spirit; who appealing to Ge-
 " neva, was by Beza referred for the decision of his Cause
 " to his Superintendent; who An. 1570. at last (pag. 147,
 " 148, 149.) suspended him; but Secretary Cecyl stood his
 " Friend, and Corranus (by the favour of the Earl of Lei-
 " cester) was afterwards An. 1571. Reader of Divinity in
 " the Temple; became a Member of the Church of England
 " and died Prebend of St. Paul's 1591. Grindall, An. 1561.
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" (pag. 51, 52, 53.) sent *Gothofrid Wing*, one of the Mini-
 " sters of the *Dutch Church* in *London*, to the Magistrates of
 " *Frankford* with a Letter to intercede for the *Dutch Congre-*
 " gation there. He (pag. 91, 92, 93, 94.) engaged *An. 1563.*
 " with *Justus Velsius* an enthusiastical Sectary of the *Hague*,
 " then in *London*; who at last was charged in the Queen's
 " Name to depart the Kingdom. *An. 1566.* a Minister of
 " the Strangers Church (pag. 108.) being guilty of a very
 " scandalous Crime, and therefore deserving the severest
 " Ecclesiastical Censure, which it belonged to the *Superin-*
 " tendent to inflict, the *Superintendent* being minded to pro-
 " ceed therein according to that Church's Custom, private-
 " ly sent a Letter, *October 12.* to *John Cousin*, chief Minister
 " of the *French Church* to be informed, what in a very like
 " Case was the proceeding against *Mich. Angelo Florio*, de-
 " posed from his Ministry in the *Italian Church*, under the
 " Reign of *Edward VI.* But the Book of those Acts could
 " not be found. * He in this same Year, or not far from
 " it

* And give Bishop Grindall his due, he was φιλόθεος, as appears by
 this, and (pag. 75.) by his intercession for some French Refugees; and
 (pag. 127.) by contriving *An. 1568.* a way for a Benevolence from his
 Clergy to relieve the French Protestants at Geneva, though some not well
 affected to this Cause threatned him with a *Præmunire*. And (pag. 133,
 134.) by interposing himself with some at Court, that the Protestant
 Members of the Dutch, French, or Italian Churches might either escape
 or be released of an arrest laid by the Queen upon the Goods and Ships of
 such Netherlanders as lived and traded in England, because the Duke of
 Alva had unjustly seized the Effects of the English residing in those
 Countries.

Among the other Deeds of Grindall, while Bishop of London, (for God
 forbid he should be robbed of any praise he deserves) I shall reckon his
 uniting (pag. 53.) *An. 1561.* the two Parishes of *St. Mary Ax* and
St. Andrew Undershaft; and *An. 1564.* (pag. 101.) provides a Church
 for the Inhabitants of the Strand; and *An. 1570.* (pag. 158, 159.) re-
 formed the Abuses of the Hospital of the Savoy, and got Thurland the
 Master thereof deprived for several Crimes charged and proved against
 him. *An. 1563.* (pag. 70.) when the transportation of the English Sol-
 diers from New-haven into England had brought the Plague over, he was
 careful to frame certain Prayers to be used on certain Days; he by his
 Arch-Deacon exhorted the People to use Fasting and Abstinence: And
 (pag. 81.) composed also a Prayer and Psalm in December, and in Ja-
 nuary prepared (pag. 82.) a Thanksgiving Office upon the abating of the
 Plague. Then in February, by advice from the Secretary, endeavoured
 to prevent the Infection breaking out again; by hindring great flocks of
 People

“ it (pag. 110.) procured a Letter to be sent to *Flanders*, for
 “ two Men and a Woman, Members of the *Dutch Congre-*
 “ gation, who going hence upon lawful Business were taken
 “ up by the Inquisition.

“ *Grindall* (*Tho. Young* the Archbishop of *York* being dead
 “ ever since *June 1568.*) (p. 157, 158.) was designed at the
 “ latter end of this Year 1569. to succeed by the Favour of
 “ Secretary *Cecyll*, and the Approbation of Archbishop *Parker*
 “ who signified that he liked well of his removal : for he
 “ reckoned him not resolute and severe enough for the Go-
 “ vernment of *London*, since many of the Ministers and
 “ People thereof (notwithstanding all his Pains) still leaned
 “ much to their former Prejudices against the Ecclesiastical
 “ Constitution. He would be very fit for *York*, where Peo-
 “ ple were able to be dealt with by good Governance, as
 “ long as the ^f Laws could be executed, and Men backed.
 “ *Grindal* (p. 161.) *An. 1574. April 26.* wrote earnestly to
 “ *Cecyl*, now Lord *Burghley*, to prevent *Thurland's* returning
 “ to the *Savoy*, who notwithstanding (such was his Interest

People meeting together, and especially the Interludes of Players, call'd by him an idle sort of People, by whose impure Mouths God's Word was profaned and turned into Scoffs ; and sued to *Cecyl* for a Proclamation to inhibit all Plays for one whole Year ; adding, that if it were for ever, 'twere not amiss. What would he have said, had he seen a Play-house built by Subscription by one, who has made himself as infamous by writing lewd Plays, as famous by erecting a Place to act them in ; and to make amends (no doubt) for the building of a Play-house, and retrieve the Credit he has lost with the Puritanical Party (who look upon those Places as the Devil's Schools) is employed in building *Blenheim-Castle* ? For my part, in what relates to the Stage, I can condemn nothing but the Abuse of it ; knowing that the original design thereof was to commend Virtue and expose Vice. Most of the Divinity of the ancient Heathens was taught in their Tragedies, and the Audience ever carried home the better Morals. If therefore the prime intent of them was pursued, their Rules observed, and the Language not suited to the vicious Palates of the debauchees of our Age ; that place might prove a place of Instruction as well as Diversion : But corruptio oprimi est pessima.

What other particulars in the Bishop's Life I here omit, are passed over, not to detract any thing from him, but because I have already exceeded the bounds I at first designed, and I have yet a great deal to mention concerning the latter Stage of this Prelate's Life, on which his Bishoprick, and with it his Superintendency expiring, he appeared at the Helm of the Church in the biggest Dignity of it.

^f Laws might have been executed in *London*, and good Archbishop *Parker* was not wanting to back and spur too this mild patient man.

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" at Court, and the Queen's Clemency) was, upon Pro-
 " mise of better Government, re-admitted to the Master-
 " ship. *June* the 9th, he was installed at *York*; and
 " (p. 162. 163.) *June* 24. 1570. wrote to the Secretary
 " Chancellor of *Cambridge* (being moved thereunto by the
 " University) in order to the silencing of *Tho. Cartwright* of
 " *Trinity, Margaret's* Lecturer, and all his Adherents, who
 " affirmed, that the present Order of Archbishops, &c.
 " was not founded on Apostolical Institution; and that
 " our Election of Ministers had deviated from it; and that
 " no Ministers are to be made; nor Pastors admitted with-
 " out Election and Consent of the People. " He (p. 163.
 " 164, 165.) came to *York* in *August*, where he found (as
 " he gave an account to the Secretary, *Aug.* 29.) among
 " the People remnants of the old Religion, as keeping ab-
 " rogated Holy-days, offering of Money, Eggs, &c. at Bu-
 " rials, and praying by Beads. He began his Visitation,
 " *Dec.* 26. issuing his Commission for demolishing the Rood-
 " lofts, as Footsteps of the old Idolatry; with some Arti-
 " cles; ^a that the Communion-Service be said at the Com-
 " munion Table only: That a Minister should wear a
 " comely Surplice with Sleeves, when he ministrcth, &c.
 " *An.* 1571. *May* 15. he instituted a Metropolitcal Visi-
 " tation, which he (p. 169, 167, 168, 170.) continued the
 " next Year, with several Injunctions, most of which were
 " against several Popish Customs and Superstitions still pre-
 " vailing in those *Northern* Quarters. About *Aug.* *An.*
 " 1571. ⁱ The Archbishop of *Canterbury* sent him a *Book of*
 " *Articles and Discipline*, drawn in a late Synod (seasona-
 " ble for his intended Visitation) to which tho' wanting
 " the Queen's Confirmation, yet not her liking and know-
 " ledge, the Bishops of the Province had subscribed: but
 " Archbishop *Grindall* was affraid of a *Premunire*, and
 " made an hæitation at the putting them in practice; ad-

^a Had *Grindall* lived in our days, and censured these Propositions,
 some of his present Admirers had not taken so much Pains in his Vindi-
 cation.

^b I heartily wish this Custom, commanded by our Rubrick, were ob-
 served now in every Parish-Church; for besides a due Conformity to the
 Rubrick, it would put the People in mind of the Duty, which our Holy
 Church expecteth should be as often performed at that place.

ⁱ This good Archbishop knew (as is observed before) that his Brother
 might want backing.

ding,

“ ding, * Fine Words (meaning the Queen's Verbal Ap-
 “ probation) fly away as Wind, and would not serve us
 “ in case of a *Premunire*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*
 “ writ to him he was in more fear, than he trusted would
 “ follow; as he might better satisfy himself, if he did read
 “ the Statute of *Premunire*. But *Grindall* would not go
 “ upon Uncertainties. The Queen having called upon the
 “ Ecclesiastical Commissioners to reform Abuses of Persons,
 “ chiefly Ministers, who sought to make Alterations in the
 “ uniform Order of the Church: some were convented be-
 “ fore them, three of which being of the *North* were refer-
 “ red to *Grindall's* cognizance; *Lever* was deprived of his
 “ Prebend of *Durham*; the other two were *Whittingham*
 “ (the Author of the Preface before *Goodman's* Book exciting
 “ the deposing of Queen *Mary*) and *Gilby*, both ¹ Exiles at
 “ *Geneva* under *Q. Mary's* Reign; *Grindall* trusted to find
 “ Conformity in *Whittingham*, who had subscribed concern-
 “ ing Apparel; but *Gilby* dwelt at *Leicester*, out of his Pro-
 “ vince, and much nearer to *London* than *York*. Toward
 “ the latter end of the Year (p. 171, 172, 173, 174.) a good
 “ Prebend of *York* falling void, he had a Contest for the
 “ Title with *Webster* and *Woodroff*, which two not agreeing
 “ about the Right of Presentation, he closed in with the
 “ last, and got his own Chaplain presented: and stood to
 “ what he had done, tho' the Lord Treasurer wrote to him
 “ in *Webster's* behalf. The Treasurer about this time was
 “ not pleased with him for having granted, when Bishop of
 “ *London*, to Sir *George Penruddock* a Lease of *Broxburn* Par-
 “ sonage, which the said Lord had a mind to, because it
 “ lay conveniently for him. There was this Year (p. 175,
 “ 176.) instituted in *Northampton* by consent of *Scambler* the
 “ Bishop of the Diocese, the Mayor and his Brethren, and
 “ the Justices of the Peace, an *Exercise* of the best learned
 “ of the Ministers, for the right interpretation of Scriptures
 “ first every other; and soon after every Saturday. *An. 1573.*
 “ *October 20.* a Proclamation from the ^m Queen (pag. 184,
 “ 185,

* Could he mistrust a Queen, who was *semper eadem*; and in pur-
 suance of her Motto was in all Parts of her Dominions ever a zealous
 Defender of the Church of England?

¹ 'Tis still observable how few of those Exiles returned untainted in
 their Principles.

^m Thus was this pious Queen ever uniform, and careful to rescue the
 Church, she had reformed, from Schism no less than from Superstition.

“ 185, 186.) and *Nov. 7.* a Letter from the Council by
 “ her Order, was sent forth for Uniformity, and Observa-
 “ tion of Orders of the Common-Prayers; expressing how
 “ the Fault in her Opinion was most in the Bishops, and
 “ requiring to have a more vigilant Eye to this Uniformity
 “ throughout their Dioceses. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*
 “ communicated this to the Archbishop of *York*, who was
 “ disturbed that no distinction was made; and that he him-
 “ self had done his part in his own Diocese; and tho’ he
 “ thought some of his Province had some Novelties, yet he
 “ had written to have them reformed without delay. The
 “ Archbishop of *Canterbury* signifying to him that his Suc-
 “ cessor of *London* had been doing somewhat that had drawn
 “ disquiet upon himself by these Dissentions, he answered,
 “ that the Bishop of *London* was always to be pitied; that
 “ if even the ⁿ severest Ecclesiastical Censures were the Pe-
 “ nalty of these Curiosities, yet would he never lack a num-
 “ ber of that Generation: and that in his Judgment ^o these
 “ Men ill-affected to the Orders of the Church, should not
 “ enjoy any benefit from it.

“ *An. 1574.* (pag. 187, 188.) in *Michaelmas* Term he
 “ with an Ecclesiastical Commission proceeded against Pa-
 “ pists, conferred with several Priests taken up, and com-
 “ mitted five of the most obstinate, with one *Dr. Vavassor* a
 “ fix’d stubborn Man. These in the North expected the same
 “ Mercy, as *Fecknam, Watson*, and others had had in the South:
 “ but the Archbishop thought ’twas not convenient to do the
 “ like there, because a great relapse would certainly fol-
 “ low. The *Puritans* were not so numerous in the North as
 “ in the South; but yet one *Lowth*, of *Carlisle* side, was (pag.
 “ 185.) had up before the Commissioners, for terming theirs
 “ and the Archbishop’s doings to be like the *Spanish* Inqui-

Well might she deserve to be under Christ Head of the Church, when she took so much care that the Overseers of the Flock committed to her Charge should not betray their Trust by either countenancing or overlooking Innovations.

ⁿ *What a Hydra is Schism in Archbishop Grindall’s Judgment, (and his Word may be taken) which no Severity can conquer! and yet some Men fanſie this Monster can be stroaked into a good Temper and Moderation.*

^o *He well understood the Temper of these Trimmers and Low-Churchmen, ill affected to Church-Orders; and therefore, he wished them shut out of all Preferment. This was his Opinion, but how current it would be at this time, let the Reader judge.*

“ *sition.*

" sition. The Archbishop procured an Answer to a Latin
 " Book of *Discipline*, put forth by those People who set up
 " for another Model instead of the present Government of
 " the Church. *Matthew Parker* (pag. 190.) the pious Arch-
 " bishop of *Canterbury*, had been dead since *August 1575*,
 " and three Months after, the Queen pitched upon *Grindall*,
 " recommended to her by the Lord *Treasurer* for that See. He
 " (pag. 192.) was succeeded at *York* by Dr. *Sandys* Bishop of
 " *London*, once an Exile with him; and these two old Friends
 " had some Quarrels about Dilapidations. *Grindal* (pag.
 " 193.) was confirmed *February 15.* following, and (pag.
 " 197.) one of the first things he did judicially was the re-
 " storing of one *David Thickpenny*, Curate of *Brighthelmston*
 " in *Sussex*, suspended by the Bishop of *Chichester*, upon just
 " grounds of suspicion, that he was of the *Family of Love*.
 " He appealed against his Diocesan to the Council, the Case
 " was referred to the Archbishop, who, the Bishop of *Chi-*
 " *chester* being present, restored him, with a command to
 " make a dutiful submission and purgation of himself to his
 " Ordinary within twenty Days. But the Archbishop was
 " too easily imposed upon; for *Thickpenny*, April 1. and 8.
 " Sunday Morning, read the Prayers, baptized a Child,
 " omitting divers things of the Service, neither wore he the
 " Surplice; then was he cited up again before the Archbishop.
 " An. 1576. many now were (pag. 215.) very zealous for the *Geneva-Discipline* by *Elders*; who labour-
 " ed to bring in a new Form of Publick Prayer in the room
 " of the *English Liturgy*. They had more privately exer-
 " cised their Discipline; but now in *Northampton* and *War-*
 " *wickshire* they endeavoured to set it up in Parish Church-
 " es. In the beginning of *June* the News of it came to the
 " Queen, who was highly offended at this. The 7th of *June*
 " the Archbishop was informed of it by the Earl of *Leice-*
 " ster;

^p One would have expected the Archbishop had had Experience enough of,
 and dealing with the *Seſtaries*, to be thus influenced with this Fellow's
Hypocrisy, to reverse the just Sentence of his Diocesan.

^q The Historian tells us not what became of him there.

^r For *Grindall's* Predecessor was a rigid Man for our Church-Discipline;
 and they might promise themselves some Countenance, or at least Tolerat-
 ion from the present Archbishop.

^s Was our Church-Pilot asleep? 'twas well the Captain watched.
 Was our encourager of Prophecying fallen into as deep a Lethargy, as
Jonah, when the Ship was in so great danger? The good Queen first spied
 the

" *ster*; soon after by Secretary *Walsingham*, and that by the
 " Queen's special Command; and presently after by the
 " Lord *Treasurer*, who also sent him the Names of the chief
 " stirrers in these Matters, *Paget* and *Oxenbridge*. He wrote
 " to the Bishops of *Peterborough* and of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*;
 " to reform it, or, if it needed, to require Assistance from
 " the Ecclesiastical Commission. And within a few Days
 " he wrote again to the Bishop of *Peterborough* to enquire of
 " *Paget* and *Oxenbridge*'s doings, and send an account with
 " expedition. * But fearing least some Men of Counte-
 " nance among the Laity supported these Parties, he signi-
 " fied to the Treasurer, that in his Opinion, the Council
 " ought to take pains with them, that the better Success
 " might follow.

" *Hierom Zanchy* the 22d of July sent a congratulatory

the Storm. The poor Archbishop (and but 57 Years old neither) had lost his Senses; till three Messages coming one after another dissolved the Charm that held them.

* Either the Archbishop thought that our Church was not in danger from these Innovators, and from the support they had from considerable Laymen; or else he was sensible of the danger. The first I can't suppose of an Archbishop. And if he was satisfied of the danger, could he satisfy his Conscience, if he in the highest Station of the Church did not his utmost to avert it? If in Conscience he was persuaded this was his Duty, what judgment must a Christian and a Church-Man pass upon the fears he was under? And the worse it looks in him, who in the Kingdom had none superior but the Queen. Must we think, that the pretence of fears was only an Excuse for not doing what he was not very fond of? But this is not the first aguish trembling Fit has taken him; for before he was seized with such a one at the recommendation of a Book of Canons from Archbishop Parker. Then the pretence was a *Præmunire*; and was a little more plausible than this last. But now he was older, and more infirm and subject to trembling. Yet Age and Infirmary can't be the Cause of this feavourish Distemper; for a little after this, to support Prophecying, all his fears vanished, he muster'd all his Vigour; no apprehension of a *Præmunire* shook him, but he stood his ground against the Queen's commands, and chose to undergo her utmost displeasure, rather than comply with her in what his Conscience dissuaded him from. But what Conscience is this; that an Exercise not established by our Church (though carrying never so much the face of a good design) shall be (against the Inhibition of a Queen, from whom there could be no danger to Religion) defended with so much contumacy; and our Church-Service founded on the Laws of God; and established by those of the Realm, attacked publicly by Innovators, shall (notwithstanding the express and repeated command of a pious Queen) be defended with so much coolness and fear?

“ Letter to the Archbishop, not doubting *quin ista Suprema*
 “ *post Regiam Majestatem Dignitatis accessio futura sit perpetuus*
 “ *stimulus, quo ad faciendum officium diligentius quàm unquam,*
 “ *acriter exciteris.* The Archbishop now began to encour-
 “ age ^w *Exercises* called *Prophecys* (p. 217; to p. 228.)
 “ taking pains to rectify the Abuses of them rather than
 “ wholly to abolish them. The Queen liked them not,
 “ thinking this might fill Peoples Heads with Notions, oc-
 “ casion Dissensions and unquiet Disputes, and may be se-
 “ ditious to the State; declaring her self to the Archbishop
 “ to be offended at the numbers of Preachers as well as at
 “ the *Exercises*, and warned him to repress both; urging,
 “ that the reading of the ^z *Homilies* to the People was e-
 “ nough: These Speeches of the Queen being sharp and re-
 “ solute did afflict the Archbishop, who thought the Queen
 “ made an ^y infringement upon his Office; and that in
 “ Conscience he could not comply with her Commands:
 “ and after writ his mind at large in ^z a Letter which he
 “ sent her by the Earl of *Leicester*. The Earl objected to the
 “ Archbishop, that he thought the Lay People ought not to

^u How well he followed honest Zanchy's Advice, will appear by what follows.

^w A full account of them has often and lately been given in several Pamphlets, and more particularly defended by Sir Peter King in his Speech, (*Trial*, p 82, 287, 288.) where he observes, that those innovations were no other, than what several other Bishops at the same time likewise practised, and some Bishops since have done not much unlike. I shall think ne'er the better of any innovations for being brought in by some Bishops; and much the worse of those Bishops for presuming to bring them in.

^x And lately among us it had been better, if some *Homilies* had been read instead of some *Sermons*. The first are stamp'd with publick Authority, and warn us against *Schism* and *Rebellion*; the last are at best but the compositions of private Men, and often the *Trumpets* of *Schisms* and *Rebellion* against Church and State.

^y Was that an infringement of the Queen, his supreme Governour, upon his Office, to stop his infringement upon the established Customs of our Church? There might be many, and even laudable and useful Customs thought upon by several good Bishops; but the Question is, whether any good Bishop would upon his own, or a few others private Judgment, bring them publickly into the Church, without proposing them first to the Convocation, and then obtaining their Consent, the Approbation of the Magistrate, and the Sanction of a Law.

^z The particulars of that Letter have lately been printed at length, and are also in Mr. *Strype's* Appendix, p. 74. to p. 85.

“ be

" be present at those Exercises ; the Archbishop saw no
 " reason why they should be excluded, since * St. Paul gave
 " so great a Commendation to that Practice, 1 Cor. c. 14.
 " But all he could say or write could not move the Queen

* I can't well see that St. Paul in that Chapter gives any countenance to these sorts of Exercises which the Archbishop so earnestly promoted. First, Those Spiritual Gifts mentioned by the Apostle in this Chapter, and in c. 12. v. 10, 28, 29, 30. Miracles, Healing, Tongues, Prophecy, Interpretation of Tongues ; and these Ecclesiastical Functions, Apostles, Prophets, c. 12. v. 28. Evangelists, Ephes. c. 4. v. 11. seem to be extraordinary, such as were bestowed by the Holy Ghost upon the first Planters of Christianity. And that the Prophecy here spoken of (whether it be meant the interpreting the Scripture or no) is an extraordinary Gift given by Inspiration, is plain in my Opinion from 1 Cor. 14. 29, 30. Let the Prophets speak, &c. If any thing be revealed to another, &c. The Prophecy or Interpretation is not here any studied or premeditated thing, but revealed : which Revelation is in these times ceased, and pretended to only by Enthusiasts. 2dly. The prophecy in St. Paul's Epistle (if it signifies Interpretation of Scripture) relate to the Old Testament, for the New was not yet all written, nor reduced into a Canon, (read Hammond Annot. 1 Cor. 12. b.) or else by it may be meant giving Rules or Directions to the newly founded Churches, which at present can have no place, since those Rules are already established. 3dly. There could then, when there was a particular Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, be no danger of the Laity's imbibing wrong Notions ; or being scandalized if one gave an Interpretation different from another's, for the Spirit of God taught them all. But here (Append. p. 80, 81.) If any utter a wrong Sense, he is privately admonished thereof by the Moderators ; and then how shall a poor Layman, who has by him been taught wrong, be redressed ? These Theological Exercises are fitter for an University School than a Town ; which the Archbishop himself owneth ; with this difference which he adds, That they are here performed in a Tongue understood to the more edifying of the unlearned Hearers. (Append. p. 81.) yet still I fancy an unlearned Hearer would more edify by a good plain Homily, than by the best Lecture upon a knotty point of Divinity, though delivered in English. 4thly. St. Paul concludes the Chapter with this Rule, Let all things be done decently and in order, i. e. let all things be done according to the Custom of the Church, (which is the Rule of Decency) and according to the Orders and Directions, which now and at other times have or shall be given by it. [Dr. Hamon. Paraphr.] And we find no such Custom of Prophecying enjoined by the Church of England.

What I have here written in relation to the Text of St. Paul, I entirely submit to the judgment of the Church of England, being ready to acknowledge my Error, if any thing contained here, or any where else throughout this whole Discourse, be proved contrary to, and different from what is taught by the foresaid Church.

“ from her Resolution ; who seemed much offended with the
 “ Archbishop.

“ *Fuller* in his History hath this Error, in that he writeth
 “ *Leicester* took occasion to quarrel with the Archbishop, and
 “ would have gotten ^b *Lambeth* from him ; and that it was
 “ the reason, why he had secretly imbibtered the Queen a-
 “ gainst him : But this can't be, since they now were good
 “ Friends, and the Archbishop made him the deliverer of
 “ his Letter to the Queen. ^b A Conjecture went current in
 “ after times, that the Queen was provoked against the Arch-
 “ bishop by that Earl, because he would not give a favour-
 “ able Sentence in behalf of one *Julio*, the Earl's Physician,
 “ who had married another's Man's Wife.

“ *An.* 1577. in the beginning of *May* (p. 230.) the Queen
 “ her self did, by her Letters to the Bishops, what the
 “ Archbishop could not be perswaded to do ; viz. forbid
 “ all *Exercises* or *Prophecys* ; all Preachers and Teachers
 “ not lawfully called, of which there was no small num-
 “ ber, who in unlawful Assemblies read and ministred the
 “ Sacraments by new Rites and Forms, calling People out
 “ of their own Parishes, broaching new Opinions, holding
 “ Disputations, call'd in some Places *Prophecies*, in others
 “ *Exercises*. She commanded the Bishops that no other
 “ Rites and Ceremonies should be used in the Church ;
 “ where there was not any sufficient to preach, there to read
 “ the publick Homilies ; to cause the *Exercises* to cease ; if
 “ any continued them, to commit such to Prison, as Main-
 “ tainers of Disorders : charging them to be careful and vi-
 “ gilant in these things, lest she should be forced to make
 “ some of them Examples themselves. In *June*, the Arch-
 “ bishop not complying (tho' the Queen and several Lords
 “ in the Star-Chamber had required him) was (p. 231.)
 “ by the said Lords confined to his House, and sequestred
 “ for six Months : *Dr. Yale* his Vicar-general and principal
 “ Official acted for him : But his Hands were not so wholly
 “ tied, but that he was sometimes employed by virtue of

^b *Sir Peter King* (*Trial*, p. 82, 287.) makes these two accidents the
 Reasons of *Grindall's* Disgrace ; which *Mr. Strype* can't admit : for
Fuller can't be relied on, who is not a faithful Historian : As for Exam-
 ple, he confidently assures the Archbishop's forementioned Letter to have
 been writ *An.* 1580. which was writ four Years before ; and the Story of
Julio, *Cambden* seems to have too lightly taken up from the malicious
 Author of *Leicester's Commonwealth*. (*Stryp. Hist.* p. 224.)

“ Messages, as *Novemb.* 18. from the Lords, to enquire af-
 “ ter Recusants, who began now to shew themselves more
 “ formidable, especially in *Oxford*, for want of a Bishop
 “ there : In pursuance of which Message he wrote a Letter
 “ to the Dean and Chapter of *Christ-Church* about it. The
 “ Popish Emissaries (p. 232.) by their diligence had drawn
 “ over great numbers; and after a serious Debate it was
 “ thought the best course to stop them, the easiest Punish-
 “ ment, and the most likely way to reduce them, to punish
 “ in their Purses such as wholly absented themselves from
 “ Church : The Civilians and Common-Lawyers were con-
 “ sulted, and gave their Opinions for the Lawfulness of it.
 “ Towards the latter end of *November* (p. 234, 235, 236,
 “ 238.) six Months being expired, the Archbishop had a
 “ private and kind Message by *Goodman* Dean of *Westminster*
 “ from the Lord Treasurer, concerning making his Submis-
 “ sion ; but he still esteeming himself not to have done a-
 “ miss, would not ask pardon, which supposed a Fault :
 “ yet *November* the 30th sent an ^c Address by Sir *Walter*
 “ *Mildmay* to the Lords of the Star-Chamber to intercede to
 “ the Queen for his Liberty, first declaring his Innocency,
 “ then his quiet and thankful bearing of his Punishment,
 “ and his trouble of Mind at the Queen’s Displeasure. But
 “ he was not restored to his Liberty, nor the Exercise of
 “ his Jurisdiction ; nor did he ever after much enjoy the
 “ Queen’s Favour. In *January* following there was much talk
 “ of depriving him, since there would be need of an Arch-
 “ bishop to act and preside in the Church ; but this was very
 “ ill resented by ^d true Protestants, and they were highly
 “ concerned at it, urging how much it would prove to the
 “ Joy of ^e Papists, and their encouragement. It was then
 “ determined (Sir *Francis Knowles* Treasurer of the Queen’s
 “ Chamber writing to this purpose to Secretary *Wylson*) that
 “ the Archbishop should only still continue under his Se-
 “ questration *ab officio*. By the Queen’s Order, *Jan.* 20.

^c Of which before p. 60.

^d I think true Protestants and true Church of England-men are not convertible terms ; a true Church of England-man is the truest Prote-
 stant, for none more sincerely, and upon better grounds protests, and with
 greater Courage opposes Popery ; but every true Protestant, i. e. truly and
 only protesting against Popery (which includes most Sectaries) is not a
 true Church of England-man.

^e I question whether it had proved also to the Joy of the Sectaries and
 their Encouragement.

“ (p. 239.) Dr. *William Aubrey*, and Dr. *William Clark* sup-
 “ plied Dr. *Tale*’s Place lately dead ; and the two Civilians
 “ Dr. *Drury* and Dr. *Huse* laid aside, which had before been
 “ nominated by the Archbishop (p. 231.) and by leave of
 “ the Lords of the Council to act, when Dr. *Tale* in *Novem-*
 “ *ber* was fallen dangerously sick without hopes of Recovery.
 “ *An. 1579.* (p. 242.) the Archbishop was at *Croyden*, so
 “ that either his Confinement was taken off, or rather he
 “ had leave to retire for his Health ; where he by Commis-
 “ sion from the Queen, even under his Sequestration, con-
 “ firmed *John Wolton* Bishop of *Exon*, *July* the 24th, and
 “ consecrated him, *August* the 2d. Now a-days (p. 244.)
 “ many Ministers took Livings, who refused to administer
 “ the Sacraments, because they did not like some things in
 “ the Offices appointed by the Common-Prayer : but pro-
 “ vided others for that part of the Ministerial Office. The
 “ Queen was offended ; and by Order from the Privy-
 “ Council the Archbishop commits this Business to the In-
 “ quisition of Dr. *Aubrey* and Dr. *Clark*, *Jan.* 18.

“ *An. 1580.* (p. 253, 254, 255.) the State was awaken’d
 “ by Reports that many, who had been conformable in
 “ matters of Religion, forbore to resort to the publick Ser-
 “ vice. The Queen ^f was apt to lay the blame upon the
 “ Bishops ; and granted them an Ecclesiastical Commission.
 “ The Lords issued out their Letters about it to the Arch-
 “ bishop, who wrote to the Bishop of *London* concerning
 “ the same. *Jan.* the 27th, the Convocation (p. 257, 258.)
 “ discoursed concerning the Contents of Letters from the
 “ Lords of the Privy Council written to the Archbishop
 “ about certain Errors broached by a new Sect, called *the*
 “ *Family of Love*. Another business also (p. 260, 261, 262.)
 “ lay before this Convocation, namely ^g *Penance* for open
 “ Sins ; and the Archbishop devised a Form for it ; and
 “ laid it before the Synod.

“ *An. 1581.* in *May* (p. 262.) *John Nicols* a Jesuit was
 “ taken up, and being convinced of his Errors recanted pu-
 “ blickly in the *Tower* ; and by written books gave the
 “ World a good Testimony of his Faith and Conformity,
 “ The Privy Council for his and others encouragement in-
 “ tended to bestow on him the next Living that fell ; but
 “ for his maintenance in the mean while, writ to the Arch-

^f And (may be) some had given her but too much occasion so to do.

^g Something has been said of such an Office, pag. 26.

“ bishop, and he to his Brethren, to have a Contribution
 “ among them for some Money to be paid him Quarterly;
 “ and the Summ came to 50 l. The Archbishop (p. 264,
 “ 265.) in obedience to Orders from the Council, dispatched
 “ his Letters to his Officers with some Articles how to pro-
 “ ceed in an Enquiry for *Recusants*: and *An. 1582. in April*
 “ (p. 269, 270.) he and the rest of the Bishops are required to
 “ certify the Places of those *Recusants* Dwellings, in order to
 “ their Imprisonment in the *Queen's-Bench* next *Easter-Term*.
 “ Soon after (pag. 271, 272.) the Writs and Instruments
 “ run all along in *Aubrey's* sole name, without the name of
 “ *Clark*; wherefore one might think that the Archbishop was
 “ then restored to the exercise of his Ecclesiastical Jurisdic-
 “ tion. There is extant a Submission of his, but without
 “ any manner of date: In it he owns his sorrow for her
 “ Majesty's being offended with him; that he refused to ex-
 “ ecute her Commands by reason of scruples of Conscience;
 “ that he now understands her Majesty did use the Advice of
 “ certain Bishops, who found the *Exercises* more hurtful
 “ than profitable; that therefore he is persuaded of her sin-
 “ cere and godly meaning to the Quietness of her People,
 “ and that her Commandment was not against positive
 “ Law and Constitution of the Realm; that he is sorry he
 “ has incurred her Offence by not observing her Command-
 “ ment, beseeching her not to impute it to any obstinate in-
 “ tent, but only to his being moved in Conscience to be an
 “ humble Suitor, to be spared from being the special Instru-
 “ ment in suppressing those *Exercises*; praying her Majesty
 “ to be truly informed, how after her said Command-
 “ ment he did ^h suffer no such *Exercises* to be used. The
 “ Archbishop (pag. 277.) sometime before this became blind,
 “ and in the latter end of this Year 1582 lost all hope of the
 “ recovery of his Sight; which made him willing to resign;
 “ and her Majesty in *January*, by *Piers* Bishop of *Sarum*,
 “ signified her Pleasure that he should, with a promise of an
 “ honourable Pension. In the Month of *January* he, in
 “ pursuance of Orders from the Queen and Council, (pag.
 “ 278, to p. 283.) recommends the afflicted Case of *Geneva*,
 “ which City the Duke of *Savoy* laboured to obtain, to all
 “ the Bishops of his Province; and for his own share con-
 “ tributed 100 Marks. *An. 1583. the 12th of April* (pag.

^h How could he have done it, even though he had been willing, when he
 was suspended?

“ 286. to p. 291.) he sent Dr. *Aubrey* with a draught of his
 “ Resignation, having before applied to the Treasurer for his
 “ Pension, which (pag. 285.) the Treasurer in a Message to
 “ the Queen had settled to be 7 or 800 *l.* a Year. But the
 “ Archbishop's indisposition prevented the farther transact-
 “ ing in this business and bringing it to a conclusion; so
 “ that he continued Archbishop till *May*, the eighth of
 “ which Month he made his Will, and on the 6th of *July*
 “ departed in the 63d Year of his Age, and according to
 “ his desire was buried in the Chancel of *Croyden-Church*.

What I intended before my perusal of Bishop *Grindall's* Life, was no more than a Collection of such Passages of it as occasioned or related to his Suspension; but after I had perused it, I found so many things, which would illustrate and confirm several Places of this Discourse, that I was soon convinced an Epitome of the whole Life might (besides giving a fuller satisfaction to the Reader) much better serve my present purpose. In this Epitome I have kept closely to the sense, and for the most part to the very Words of the Historian; and added here and there some Observations at the bottom of the Page, most of which will be as so many References and Applications of the Passages in that Life to several things mentioned in this Book. This Epitome hath clearly set forth the Spirit of Non-conformity and Fanaticism, and its repeated Attempts to pull down the established Church: How Bishop *Grindall* was ever loth to apply to this incurable Sore any other Medicaments but Lenitives; and how much more in the Right was Queen *Elizabeth* in striving by wholesome Severities to pull out (if she could) the very Core and Root of that desperate Wound.

These are the Reasons why I can't like those Men who are so forward to encourage such a large *Toleration*; and yet I (especially as long as I am but in a private Station) would be none of the hottest to discourage what is set up by the Magistrate; the first sinells too much of an *Indifferency* for the Church of *England*, the last of *Disrespect* towards the Magistrate, the Exercise of whose Power I am bound by the Rules of the Gospel and that Church not to oppose. The Householder's Servants in the Parable of the Gospel (*Matth.* 13. 24.) were moved with Zeal, and provoked at the *Tares* springing up with the *Wheat*, and nothing would serve them but pulling them up by the Roots. But the wise Householder, who had his Reasons, tho' his Servants understood them not, reprov'd them, and bid them *let both grow together until*

until the Harvest, and wait the time, when he should think fit to make a distinction.

Yet as ⁱ *Tares* are no less *Tares*, because they are permitted to grow with the *Wheat*; so *Schism* is no less *Schism*, because it is *tolerated*. And as we ought not to call into question the *Householder's* (that is, God's) Justice or Wisdom for permitting the *Tares* to grow, so neither ought we to murmur against his Deputy (the Magistrate) for tolerating *Schism*. Nevertheless, as long as St. Paul's Command is in force, that *there be no Schisms* (1 Cor. 1. 10.); and he seems (1 Cor. 11. 18, 19) to put very little distance between *Schism* and *Heresy*; as long as the Church of *England* prays to God to be delivered from both; I know no reason, why any *stop* should be put to preaching against *Schism*; why a Minister of our Church may not lay open the final Fate of the *Tares*, the heinousness and danger of *Schism*; whereby the Churchmen may be exhorted to persevere in, and the Dissenters to return to the Unity of the Church; and this (I humbly think) a Minister ought to do so much the more, when and wherever a greater *Toleration* is granted to *Schismatics*, lest any unwary Person should be drawn from the Church-Communion, and lest the Dissenter should fancy that he *ought*, because he *may*, continue in his *Schism*. But at the same time the Minister inveighs against *Schism*, he ought by no means to inveigh against the Authority of the Magistrate, by whom a *Toleration* is given to it; for thus doing he exceeds his *Commission*, and, while he exclaims against *Schism*, he goes near to fall into another Sin much a-kin to it, *Faction*. Upon the whole matter, no honest *Church man* ought to despond under, or to clamour at the wise Dispensation of the World's great Master and *Householder* in the Hands of his *Servant* and Minister of his Will, the Magistrate, if *Schismatics* are permitted to lift up their Heads: let this be a seasonable Comfort to him, and a useful Warning to them, that, how little distinction soever appears, while the Magistrate's Power given him from above, (John 19. 11.) doth last, yet a considerable one will be made at the time of Harvest, when the *Servant's* Power and Commission is expired, and the *Master* shall resume that Power into his own Hands, and render to every man according to his deeds, to them that are contentious, indignation and wrath: to them who by patient

ⁱ Bishop Burnet in his Preface to the second Part of the History of the Reformation, seems to apply the Word *Tares* to the *Schism* in England.

continuance in well doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality; glory, honour, peace, and eternal life: for there is no respect of Persons with God, Rom. 2. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11.

It will not be here improper to observe, that the Apostle joins the Word *patient* with *continuance in well-doing*, as if nothing could be *well done*, unless it be accompanied with *Patience* and *Submission*. This is the true *Moderation* of a Christian; not that, which is ever *murmuring*, and *complaining*, (Jude v. 16.) *despising Government*, *presumptuous*, *self-willed*, *not afraid to speak evil of dignities*, and of the things it understands not, *having forsaken the right way*, and *gone astray*, *loving the wages of unrighteousness*, (2 Pet. 2. 10, 12, 15.): This Character St. Peter gives of a certain sort of Men in his days; and I wish none in ours did copy after it. The Church of England has ever professed the Necessity of *Subjection*, and own'd the *Divine Right* of the Magistrate, according to God's blessed Word and Ordinance; and therefore the true Members of that Church have ever recommended and practised the *Doctrine of Passive Obedience* in its full Extent and Latitude, tho' we have known of late not only a ^k Reviler of Priests, but a Priest too, and none of the lowest Rank and Order, affirm; the one, that the *Doctrine of Passive Obedience* is *most absurd and blasphemous*; the other (for the Priest would not be outdone by the Priest-reviler), that *Obedience without reserve is profane and impious*, and (to give some instance of Profaneness and Impiety) proves it from our Saviour's Words, *Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's*. We have known Clergy-men, from the *Pulpit* and *Bench*, give *limits* to our *Obedience*, which God's Word never did; for I here boldly challenge any of them to produce one Text, whereby that Duty is limited, and which points out any case, when we are allowed to resist. Therefore since God has not thought fit in his revealed Word to limit that Duty, I shall (with the leave of a Reverend Dean, and a Reverend Bishop, who quotes him) chuse rather to call those Men *graves* than *boni*, that have contended it is lawful for the People in any case to resist. And here I must take occasion of shewing how wary a Writer ought to be in his Expressions; for I will do this right to that Dean, (for whom I have a value, because he has appeared zealous for the Church) that when he writ or spoke the Words, he (as one may guess by the rest of his Sermon so excellent for its accurate

^k *Priestcraft in Perfection.*

Latin as well as Arguments) never designed to give any Bishop a handle of making use of them in the Vindication of Resistance. Besides that I may (as far as I can) vindicate the Dean, who has shewed himself so willing to vindicate the Church, from the Bishop, who from his Words raiseth an Argument against Passive Obedience, and from one of the Managers, who has stuffed his Speech by his Translation of three or four of the Dean's Sentences: I say, that those Men *graves & boni, qui licere hoc contendunt*, might mean this *lawful Resistance* of those Countries, where by the very Concession of their Princes at the time of their Accession to the Throne are freed from their Obedience and allowed to resist, if their Privileges were infringed; which at the end of this Discourse will be proved to have been the Case of the *Low-Countries*: not of them, where no such Concession and Allowance has been granted.

To rule in the Kingdom, and give it to, or set up over it, whomsoever he will, is a Right expressly declared by the Prophet Daniel (c. 4. v. 17, 32.) to belong to God; and they, who under a colour of asserting their Rights and Privileges invade God's Prerogative, may truly be said to *resist God's Ordinance*; and consequently expect to receive the Reward of it, *Damnation*; to which they have a much better Right and Claim by *God's Law*, than they have to Resistance by *that of Nature*. St. Peter foresaw, how gross Abuses this *Natural Liberty* would be liable to in this very Case of our Obedience to the Higher Power; and has in his Statute concerning that Duty wisely inserted this Clause, (1 Pet. 2. 15, 16.) *As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness*; and in the Words next before these, he hints at the Folly of those Pretenders to Freedom; *For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men*; and what is the *well doing* he means, is declared in the 13th Verse, *Submit yourselves to every Ordinance¹ of men*. Our Saviour born as much, or, if there be any odds, certainly more free than all the best of the Sons of Man (for he was born to a Kingdom, John 18, 37.), in the Case of paying Tribute, waves his Liberty, for fear of *giving Offence*, (Matth. 17. 25.); and puts himself to the Expence of a *Miracle*, both to *practise and teach* this grand necessary Duty of Sub-

¹ How this Expression has been misinterpreted by our modern Libertines, has been shew'd in a Discourse call'd, The Vindication of the Bishop of Salisbury and Passive Obedience.

jection: And such is the hardness of Heart and Impenitence of those, who now patronize Rebellion, that I know not, whether if our Lord were upon Earth, they would *put up the sword* (*John* 18. 11.) at his bare Command, without the additional Power of a *Miracle* to convince and crush their Stubbornness.

I am aware, what will be objected against the Inference I here make from the foregoing Text; and I very well know how a certain ^m Prelate has forced a very different conclusion from the same: which is this, “ that the Money required of our Saviour was the Poll-money; that all the Males among the Jews were bound to pay towards the Expence and Repairs of the Temple (*Exod.* 30. 13, 14.); and that to this Poll-money is to be referred the rendring God, what is his; so that none might exempt themselves from that, under the Pretence of their being charged with a Tribute to the *Romans*; and that this being God’s reserved Rent, he his only begotten Son reckoned he was not bound to pay it; but yet that they might not think he was a breaker of the Law, he directed his Disciple to go a fishing, and with the Shekel found in the Fish pay the Tribute for them both. In answer to this, I shall here first give, what meaning I understand this Text in. That this Tribute was a Tax paid to the *Romans* under the Form of the *Sidexxua* ever since *Pompey* had overcome the Jews, or else imposed on them by *Augustus*. Which Interpretation Dr. *Hammond* in his Paraphrase and Annotations bringeth, as having *some possibility and colour*; and yet rather favours the other, That the Jews, and not the Publicans of *Cesar*, exacted this Tribute; which was to be paid yearly for the Temple. But I do not find, that Dr. *Hammond* applies the rendring to God the things that are God’s to this, as the fore-mentioned Prelate doth. The first Interpretation is that also of St. *Hierom*, the last of S. *Chrysostom*.

Secondly, I prefer the first Interpretation, and from this Text urge the Duty of Subjects to Magistrates, because the Church (to whom I, and every Bishop of *England*, even my Lord of *Salisbury*, owes Obedience) hath in the second Homily against wifut Rebellion made this use of it. And if the Bishop pleads an Exemption from thinking as the Church does, I hope it will be an Argument to him to remind him,

^m *Bishop of Salisbury’s Sermon on the 29th of May 1710. p. 13. and p. 5.*

that Bishop^m Jewel is generally believed to have composed those Homilies, who was by much the best Writer of that time. And if he brings that * Bishop's Authority to countenance the Doctrine of Resistance, why mayn't I urge his Authority in the Application of this Text for the Doctrine of Submission? The Words of the Homily are these. " But no Example ought to be of more force with us Christians, than the " Example of Christ our Master and Saviour, who tho' he " were the Son of God, yet did always behave himself most " reverently to such Men as were in Authority in the World " in his time, and he not rebelliously behaved himself, but " openly did teach the Jews to pay Tribute unto the Roman " Emperor, tho' a Foreign and a Pagan Prince; yet himself with his Apostle paid Tribute unto him.

Besides since the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Oxford* in their Speeches make such a noise about the Clergy's Opinion in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, I hope it will not be impertinent to alledge the Marginal-note to this Text in a Bible printed in the Year 1599. *In that Christ does willingly obey Caesar's Edicts, he shews that Civil Policy is not taken away by the Gospel. And They that were from twenty years of age to fifty paid half a Sicle to the Sanctuary. This was an Attick Didrachme which the Romans exacted, after they had subdued Judea.*

Gul. Bud. in his fifth Book *de Asse* observes, that this Tribute was imposed on the Jews by *Augustus*, when *Cyrinus* was President.

I must (before I quit this Text) lay before the Reader the Opinion of some Protestant Divines upon it, and their Assertion of Passive Obedience; and I suppose the forementioned Prelates will like them never the worse for being Protestants. I'll beg leave to quote their own Latin Words.

Beza in Nov. Testam. 17. 24. *Annum hoc tributum fuisse, quod Templo persolvebatur; ex Mose probari non potest. Itaque mihi videtur hoc potius de Tributo accipiendum, quod Judæa in provinciam redacta Romanis persolvebat.* And v. 27. — *Offendiculum eis præbeamus quasi videlicet subjectos doceamus Magistratibus esse rebelles, aut ne alii hoc exemplo abutantur.*

Calvin. Comment. in Harmon. Evang. *Erat hoc annum Tributum Judæis impositum in singula capita, ut tyrannis penderent, quod olim solebant uni Deo. Scimus hunc censum illis præscriptum fuisse in lege, &c. — Hoc quum ad se transfulissent Reges Asiatici, placuit Romanis exemplum. — Porro absurdum*

^m Bishop of Salisbury's Speech, p. 4.

* Ibid.

videri poterat, Christum, quum apparuisset populi redemptor, ne ipsum quidem à tributo esse immunem. Hoc scandalum ut averteret, verbis docuit solâ voluntate se esse obstrictum; & miraculo idem probavit: quia à terreno imperio eximere se poterat, qui mari dominabatur & piscibus.

Buceri enarrat. in Evangel. Ann. 1553. Matth. 17. 24. *Insigne exemplum Christi quo discimus, quid Magistratui debeamus. Filius Dei — nihil voluit in se desiderari, quod Magistratui à subditis debetur, ut citius miraculo pecuniam, quam illi penderet, sibi pararit. — Eoque docuit hoc ipsum omnium qui homines sunt, officium esse. Quod postea Paulus apertâ sententiâ edixit, omnis anima, &c. — Tributum hoc, quod hîc Christus pendit, primum Judæis ab Augusto indictum fuit, Cyrenio præside, qui censum apud Judæos primus egit. — Postremo hinc quod Christus Romanam potestatem (quæ Judæis omnino Tyrannica habebatur) ita observavit, discimus quàm verè Paulus scripserit, Non enim est potestas nisi, &c. — Proinde siue malus siue bonus nobis contigerit, ut à Deo nobis præfectum ipsum agnoscere oportet, eoque concedere ei, pensitare, atque ab ipso ferre, quacunque Deo concedi, pensitari, aut ferri ab ipso poterunt atque debebunt. Jam concedi & pendere Deo potest hac vita cum omnibus, quæ ad eam continent, nomen, res, potestas, amici, ac quicquid id demum fuerit: sique omnia ea auferat, æquo animo ferendum est. — Porro ut millies mori quicumque Deum novit potius volet quàm vel consultor esse ut magistratu quisquam fungatur qui non eximiè Deum timeat, justique & pietatis sit tenacissimus, — ita si impientissimus & sceleratissimus jam rerum potiatur, sitque Magistratus constitutus, omnia patietur citius qui verè pius est, quàm ut vel cogitet illum illegitimâ viâ magistratu deturbare; sed Deum tantum orabit, qui iratus Tyrannum rerum potiri fecit, ut pacatus potestate rursum exuat, qui id nimirum solus potest.*

I find no reserve in this learned Man, and I wonder that the Bishop is so fond of reserves, as to mention this word so often, and the Bible so seldom in his whole Sermon, wherein his Lordship (as I observe he generally does in most) affects the part and stile more of an Historian or Lawyer than a Divine, and labours to maintain the Rights of the People more than those of his God and his Viceroyents; because forsooth out of pity he taketh the weakest side, and leaves the others to support themselves and their Privileges; which I dare say are like to stand, notwithstanding any Batteries of Arguments his Lordship will ever be able to muster against them, though he backs them with never so many views and reserves; which last seem not a Protestant
but

but a *Romish Artillery*, for they are much given (the Jesuits especially) to *Equivocation* and *Mental Reservation*: And ten to one but my Lord in his Travels, as by the Remarks we meet in his Letters 'tis plain he made great improvements; has in his Passage through *Italy* and *Rome* observed this *Polemical* way of disputation. But let us see his Argument drawn from these *Reserves*. " *The Laws*, says he, *of God the King of Kings*, are *Reserves upon our Obedience to those whose highest Dignity it is that they are his Ministers deputed, by him* (and I thank him for owning that, and not putting in the room of it *by the People*). I answer, that this is no *Reserve upon Passive Obedience*, by which (according to *St. Peter's Rule*) we are taught to do well (1 Pet. 2. 20.) and, if bearing unto God (as we ought) more than Man (Acts 4. 19.) we be beaten, imprisoned (Acts 16. 22, 23.) or any other ways like to suffer, we ought to rejoice (Acts 5. 41.) and take it patiently. And thus Passive Obedience obeys God and submits to the Magistrate at the same time, even when the last contradicteth the Will of the first. Thus this Weapon of *Reserves* used against Passive Obedience falls to the ground, signifying as little as a *Pot-gun*, or the *Brutum Fulmen* of *Rome*, whence it was fetched.

The Bishop in his ° Sermon, after his mention of the *Maccabees* (which he has so particular a kindness for, that he rarely makes a Speech or a Sermon without them) concludes, that the *Jews* were bound to submit, when *Judea* had been reduced into the form of a Province by *Pompey*, who ought in justice to have restored *Hircanus*, because the matter had now by long Prescription run into an established Title, and the *Roman Coin* was current among them, which is always to be look'd on as the owning that Authority, whose stamp regulates the value of Money. ° He (our Saviour) leaves the Titles to their own force, and adds no strength to them. He only is positive in this, that a Government settled in a long Possession is to be submitted to. Those who let their Claims sleep so long may be well supposed to relinquish them, and to release the World from all Obligations to assert them.

I would here desire the Bishop to inform us, whether the *Currency of the Coin*, and a long *Prescription* must be the standard of our submission? And next, what must be the length of that Prescription; whether *fourteen Years* will serve, or ° about an *hundred*, or an ° *hundred and forty*.

° Sermon on May 29. 1710. p. 5.

p. p. 6.

° p. 3.

° p. 4.

° p. 9.

As to the Coin, the *currency of the Coin* in *Cromwell's* time (I fancy) made not the Right of King *Charles the Second* ever the less current among any but Rebels. Besides, a King may be *abdicated* from the *Throne*, but his Coin seldom loseth its *Right* in the *Exchequer*, or any where else. Money, let it bear the Face of an *Usurper*, *abdicated*, *de Facto* or *Jure King*, of a *Popish* or *Protestant* one, keepeth its *inherent, hereditary, and unalterable Right*. Then as to *Prescription*, had *Cromwell's* Right been *established*, and absolved the English Subjects from their Allegiance to the Royal Line, if God's Providence had permitted his Usurpation to have continued in his Family till this time? Let the Bishop answer in the Affirmative, if he thinks fit; and if in the *Negative*, then there is a *short end* of his *long Prescription*.

But to say somewhat more of the *Coin*; 'tis true indeed, that the *currency* of it certainly shews, whose Authority at that time prevails; but it does not always prove the lawfulness of that Authority; and therefore our Saviour's Argument from the Coin is to be carefully examined. His question is, (Matth. 22. 20.) *Whose is this Image and Superscription?* The *Pharisees* Disciples reply *Caesar's* (v. 21.) From this Question and Reply our Lord draws the Inference, *Render therefore, &c.* (v. 21.)

The Coin (as Dr. *Hammond* observes from *Occo*) had on it the Image of *Caesar*, and in it these Letters written (which is called the Superscription ἐπισημασίη) Καίσαρ Αὐγούστου Ἰουδαίας ἐαλωμένος; from whence Christ concludes *Caesar's* Right by Title of Conquest, to require Tribute of the *Jews*.

The time of that Conquest was, when *Pompey* stormed and took the Temple, and reduced the City into the *Romans* power; then he restored *Hyrcauus* (who had besought his Assistance against the Invasion of his younger Brother *Aristobulus*) to the High-Priesthood and Kingdom of *Judea*, but so as to hold it of the *Romans*, to whom he made the *Jews* Tributary.

This Conquest was own'd by the *Jews*, and their Kings in our Saviour's time were Vassals and Tributaries to the *Roman* Emperor; and this subjection was sufficiently confirmed by their answer to *Pilate* (John 19. 15.) *We have no king but Caesar.*

Thence it is plain by our Saviour's Answer, that a Prince by Right of Conquest may require Subjection and Tribute from the conquered. Thus this Nation was by that Right subjected to King *William the First*, the *Norman*; and no
King

King since has here pretended to this Title. And a Pamphlet has been reckoned to deserve the Fire, for grounding the late Revolution upon Conquest, no less, than a Sermon for attempting to clear it from the imputation of Resistance.

The ^c Bishop is very severe against the ^c Assertors of an *Hereditary Right* (no less than Mr. Bickerstaff in his 190 *Tatler*), and represents them as having *concealed designs*, with an addition of *who has Ears to hear, let him hear*, (which Sentence his Lordship might have spared, unless he had been hoarse and had lately lost his Voice): Yet I know not why he will take away such an over-plus and farther Advantage as an *Hereditary Right* from a *Protestant Prince*, when he so freely bestow'd it upon a ^u *Popish* one. I easily perceive what will be answer'd, that the Revolution hath set Matters on another foot; but this makes nothing to the design of my Conclusion, which is this, that, consequently from the Bishop's words, there was a time in *England*, when the Crown came down by *Inheritance*: or (that I may not wrong his Lordship) that, suppose Queen *Mary* had a *Parliamentary Right*, yet it was no Crime to assert that of *Inheritance*: or, lastly, that a *Popish* Queen may have two Rights to the Crown, and a *Protestant* but one.

After that, when Queen *Elizabeth* succeeded, ^{*} an Act for the recognizing of her Title was conceiv'd in these words, " That they did assuredly believe and declare, that by the
" Laws of God and of the Realm she was their lawful
" Queen, and that she was rightly, lineally, and lawfully
" descended from the Royal Blood, and that the Crown
" did without all doubt or ambiguity belong to her, and
" the Heirs to be lawfully of her Body after her; and that
" they, as representing the three Estates of the Realm, did
" declare and assert her Title, which they would defend
" with their Lives and Fortunes.

Here is *Hereditary Right* acknowledged to be by the Laws of God and of the Realm; here is a *Title* to the Crown, not given, but *declared and asserted* by the *three Estates*. And

^c P. 9, 10.

^c Sir John Hawles in his *Speech* (p. 68.) at the late *Trial* owns, Her Majesty has an *Hereditary Right* and Title to the Crown.

^u In the end of the second Book of his second Part of the *History of the Reformation*, we read these words, Thus lived and died *Mary Queen of England* by *Inheritance*, and of *Spain* by *Marriage*.

^{*} Burnet's *Reform. Part 2. p. 385.*

by the by it may be observed, that *the Sovereign* was not included in the *three Estates*.

I know 'twill be objected, that the Lord Keeper (as Bishop *Burnet* observes) suspected, that the inquiring into things too anxiously would rather prejudice than advance her Title; and that therefore he thought it better to assert the lawfulness of her Descent and Right to the Crown in general words. I shall from thence more strongly infer, that, whether or no her Title was good, still the asserting the *Hereditary Right*, if it were done but in General Terms, was more agreeable to the Laws of God and the Realm, and preferable to any other Settlement whatsoever; for had the three Estates thought otherwise, they might as easily have given a *Parliamentary Right* as declared the *Hereditary* one.

Next to Queen *Elizabeth* came King *James*, and in the first Year of his Reign, "The High Court of Parliament, " where all the whole body of the Realm, and every particular Member thereof, either in Person or by Representation (upon their own free Election) are by the Laws of " this Realm deemed to be personally present, did agnize " their most constant Faith, Obedience, and Loyalty to " King *James* and his Royal Progeny: And enacted, that " they (being bounded thereunto both by the Laws of God " and Man) did recognize and acknowledge, that immediately upon the dissolution and decease of *Elizabeth* late " Queen of *England*, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of " *England*, and of all the Kingdoms and Dominions, and " Rights belonging to the same, did by inherent Birth-right " and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come " to his most excellent Majesty, as being lineally, justly " and lawfully next and sole Heir of the Blood Royal of " this Realm; and thereunto they most humbly and faithfully did submit and oblige themselves, their Heirs and " Posterities for ever, until the last drop of their Blood be " spent, and did beseech his Majesty to accept the same, as " the First-Fruits in this High-Court of Parliament of their " Loyalty and Faith to his Majesty, his Royal Progeny and " Posterity for ever.

Thence I conclude, that the Right to the Crown of *England* did not always by the Laws of the Realm come by a *Parliamentary Settlement*, but has often by the Parliament been owned to be *Hereditary*.

The Bishop * hinteth at a certain secret Fact, not decided, and in it self doubtful, and the legal state of the matter lying another way, and a Right that depends upon a Fact, that in its Nature is and must be for ever secret, and Presumptions that are very strong ones, but yet no more than Presumptions. What is all this and such like mysterious Gibberish to a Church and a Christian Congregation? Does not this resemble the dark puzzling Oracles of an Heathen God unintelligible to the very Priest who utters them, upon his Tripes, more than the plain easy Truths of the Gospel delivered by a Minister of God in the Pulpit? If these be his *Reserves* and *Views*, he'll do well to keep them to himself, unless he helps us to a Key to unlock, and a pair of Spectacles to see them. Let me advise him, and I'll take the more liberty, because I'll use the very words towards the end of his Sermon. Religion (and that is the proper business of the Pulpit) must not rest in Points of Speculation or Opinion; it must not be managed to serve Ends, to advance Interests, and break the World into Parties; but we ought to seek above all things the Honour of our God and Saviour, and of our most holy Faith. I'll here add the Archbishop of York's Opinion, * a practising in State-matters is usurping an Office which belongs to another Profession, and to Men of another Character; And I should think it every whit as undecent in a Clergy-man to take upon him to deal in these Points, as it would be for him to determine Titles of Land in the Pulpit, which are in dispute in Westminster-Hall. Nor can I help here laying before his Lordship some farther wholesome Advice, out of that * Speech of Sir John Hawles, one of the Managers of the Honourable House of Commons at the late Trial; where he submits it to the Lords Judgment, Whether it be not the Duty of the Preacher to deliver himself so in the Pulpit, that his meaning should not be doubtful to his Congregation.

If his Lordship thinks fit to display his Talent in Politicks, and unfold hidden Secrets of State, he may choose a much better place and fitter Auditors, the grand Senate and august Senators of our Nation. And had his *Salisbury-Sermon* been printed without the formality of a Text, I don't know, but that most of it might have passed for the second Part of, or a Comment upon the Speech he made in the House of Lords; which, however it has been doubted by some whether it was his, is now unquestionably vindicated by and to

* P. 9, 10.

† P. 16.

‡ Sachev. Trial p. 170.

• P. 79.

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* P. 9, 10.

† P. 16.

‡ Sachev. Trial p. 170.

• P. 70.

its right Owner ; for the Complexion of his Speech and Sermon are so like, that one must judge them to be very near a kin, and to have but one Father.

There is an Argument for Resistance, which is in the Mouth of, and at every turn urged by that Party ; and principally used by the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Oxford* in their ^b Speeches. That through Queen *Elizabeth's* long and glorious Reign the constant Maxim of that time, and the Opinion of Prince, Parliament, Clergy, and People was, that Resistance of Subjects against their Sovereigns was not always Rebellion ; because Assurances were given, and Subsidies granted in Parliament and Convocation to the Subjects of other Countries that were resisting their respective Princes ; and Prayers were composed and used for the Success of their Arms. Those Subjects were the *Scottish* Lords against *Mary* their Queen, the *French* Protestants against their King, the Provinces of the *Netherlands* against the *Spanish* Monarchy.

But if the Case be truly stated, it will appear that those Affairs are so far from countenancing Resistance, that nothing can make more strongly against it. This hath been very learnedly proved by the Author of the Defence of the Profession of *John* late Lord Bishop of *Chichester*, and of an Answer to the Vindication of the Letter from a Person of Quality in the North, concerning the said Profession, both printed in the Year 1690. To which two Discourses the Reader is obliged for what I have collected out of them ; which I'll lay down as plainly, as I can ; and as briefly, as the matter will bear.

Bishop *Sanderson* in the Case of a Military Life [*Consid.* 4. N. 2.] shews, that it is not necessary that the Rules of Justice, whereby the Councils and Actions of Princes and States, in their mutual Relations, are to be measured, should be precisely the same with those which measure the dealings of private Men one with another. And therefore 'tis lawful by the Law of Nations, for Sovereign Princes, to serve themselves of the Treachery and Revolt of another Prince's Subjects ; and to make the best Terms they can for Subjects, who have been serviceable to their Interests in a just War, tho' by unlawful Rebellion against their own Prince ; and to bring good out of evil, as it were, by taking this Opportunity of advancing and promoting the Interest

^b *Salisb.* p. 5. *Oxf.* p. 6.

of Religion, and delivering the People from Persecution, without doing any Injury all this while to the Prince himself.

* When Queen *Elizabeth* first came to the Crown, *Mary* Queen of *Scots* assumed the Arms and Title of Queen of *England*; and ^d *La Brosse* a *Bourbonois* sent with 3000 Men into *Scotland* had Orders to march directly into *England*; after they had subdued the Rebels, and conquer that for the Benefit of Queen *Mary*, upon Information whereof Queen *Elizabeth* supplied the Confederate Lords with 1200 Men; whom by her Treaty she was to assist in driving the *French* out of *Scotland*, after which they were still to continue their Obedience to their Natural Queen. * By Queen *Elizabeth's* Mediation a Peace is concluded. The Year after, a Peace is agreed on at *Edinburgh* between the Three Crowns, ^e and one of the Articles was, that the Queen of *Scots* and her Husband should no longer assume the Title and Arms of *England*; but they both refused to ratifie it, neither would she do't after the death of her Husband. * Then in the Minority of *Charles* the 9th, the Princes of the Popish and Reformed Religion in *France* fell out: and *Arthur* Pool, his Brother, and *Anthony Fortescue*, were accused of conspiring to withdraw themselves into *France*, to land an Army from thence in *Wales*, and there to proclaim the Queen of *Scots* Queen of *England*; which they confessed at their Trial, only they protested they had no Design to do it during Queen *Elizabeth's* Life, who some pretended to foretel should not outlive that Year. ^h Queen *Elizabeth* had Advice, that the *Guises* had offered *Anthony* his own Kingdom of *Navarre*, and that of *England* in Dowry with the Queen of *Scots*, the Pope engaging to dissolve his former Marriage with *Jane d' Albret*, upon pretence of Heresy, and to depose Queen *Elizabeth*; towards the Performance of all which the *Spaniard* was to furnish Money. ⁱ Sir *Hen. Sidney* was sent to know the Certainty of this, and to reconcile the two Factions; which proving in vain, she had designed another Embassy, ^k when in the mean time several Merchant-ships were by publick Order seized in the Ports of *Bretagne*, Merchants imprisoned,

* Cambden, Part 1. 1559. p. 31. Edit. Amstel.

Hist. Franc. p. 559, 662. Vide Stow, p. 641.

Part 2. p. 412, 413.

^e Cambden, p. 44, 51, 55.

^h Mezeray, An. 1561. p. 678.

ⁱ Cambden, p. 69.

^k Holinshed, An. 1562. p. 1195.

^d Mezeray

* Burnet's Reform.

^g P. 66, 67.

Goods confiscated, some kill'd as they stood upon their own Defence, some complained without Redress, the Ambassador's Letters to her Majesty intercepted. ¹ The Queen enters into a League with the Prince of *Conde*, and his Party, publishing by her Declaration both to *English* and *French*, that her Design was not to recover *Normandy*, tho' of Right belonging to *England*, but to preserve it for the King under Age from the Tyranny of the *Guises*, who besides their Tyranny to the Protestants, kept *Calais* from her, and were endeavouring to seize the Ports in *Normandy*, thence to land upon *England*: ^m And of these her Reasons and Proceedings she caused a larger Account to be published, tho' not in her own Name. This happened in the fourth Year of her Reign; and for the carrying on this War the Clergy gave her a Subsidy the Year following. ⁿ The Queen in the 27th of her Reign, after having received many Injuries, for the Preservation of her Kingdom takes the States into her Protection against her inveterate Enemy. The *Spanish* Invasion happened in the 30th, and in the 35th another Subsidy was granted by the Clergy, when she was now maintaining by her Forces in *France* the Right of *Henry IV.* against his Popish Subjects, who kept him from the Throne. The Subsidy in the 43d was granted, when *Ireland* was invaded with an Army of *Spaniards*.

By this State of Affairs it plainly appears, that the true Reason Queen *Elizabeth* had for the Assistance she gave to the *Scots*, *French*, and the *Netherlands*, was the securing of her self, and her own Dominions; not the abetting of any Resistance of Subjects against their lawful Prince. That this may farther appear, I shall point to the Queen's own Words and Declarations.

* When the Queen knew of the Queen of *Scots* Imprisonment, detesting from her Soul this unruly Insolence of perfidious, rebellious, ungrateful, and cruel Subjects against a Princess her Sister and Neighbour, she sent Sir *Nic. Throgmorton* to expostulate with the Confederates about this Insolence to their Queen, and to take a course to have her restored to her Liberty and Authority, to punish the King's Murderers, to get the young Prince in *England* for his Safety, and not into *France*. ^p Sir *Nicholas* defended the Authority

¹ Cambden, p. 72. Stow. p. 648.
p. 194. B. ⁿ Cambden, 1585. p. 439.

^p P. 120.

^m Thuan. Tom. 2. lib. 33.
^q Cambd. 1567. p. 119.

of the Higher Powers from Scripture against *Knox*, and other violent Preachers; arguing that the Queen was accountable before no Judicature but that of Heaven, that she could be brought before no Tribunal on Earth, that no Magistrate had any Authority in *Scotland* but what was derived from the Queen's Authority, and might be revoked by her. * Queen *Elizabeth* abhorred the Insolence of the *Scots* in abdicating their Queen, † and endeavoured to restore her to her Throne, or at least to procure her as good Terms as she could. ‡ But while she and her Council designed to use the Queen well, her own officious Friends by frequent Plots, open Rebellion in the North of *England* and in *Ireland*, and often by secret Attempts, brought on her a long Imprisonment and Death in the conclusion. * Queen *Elizabeth* used these Words to the Ambassadors of the *French King*, when she was in Treaty with him, *The Example of Abdicating Princes is indeed pernicious, and to be condemned to the lowest Pit of Hell; but let the Scots answer for that; I from my Soul disapprove it.*

When the Low-Countries sent to her to take *Holland* and *Zealand* into her Possession, or at least Protection, she answer'd the Ambassadors, " that it did not appear to her, how she could in Honour or with a good Conscience do either; and " she supplied them with Money on this Condition, that they should neither change their Religion, nor cast off their Prince, nor receive the *French* into *Holland*, nor refuse any reasonable Terms from *Don John* of *Austria*. * At last when after many hostile provocations she entred into a League with the States, she dispatched *Wilks* to the King of *Spain* with her Reason, that she might not lie under an Aspersion of fomenting Rebellion; advising him to remove *Don John*, who had entred into private Machinations with the Queen of *Scots* against her; that by reason of the many *French* Auxiliaries he had in a readiness, she had promised the States her Assistance, both to preserve the Low-Countries to the *Spaniard*, and to defend *England*; that they had engaged to continue in their Duty, and make no Innovations in Religion. If his Majesty was resolved to use them as a conquered People, she would not be wanting to defend them, and to preserve her self: And if the States should re-

* P. 153. † P. 166. *Spotsw. Hist. An. 1569. B. 5. p. 230.*

‡ *Burn. Ref. Part 2. p. 417.*

* *Camb. 1572. p. 246.*

" *Id. 1575. p. 283, 284.*

" *Id. 1576. p. 291. Thuan. Hist.*

Tom. 3. lib. 62. p. 154. D.

* *Cambd. 1577. p. 301. Stow, p. 682.*

nounce their Allegiance, and not stand to the Terms agreed on, she immediately would turn her Arms upon them. ¹ She afterwards published in Latin, *Italian*, *French*, and *English* an account of the many Injuries received from *Spain*, and the necessary Preservation of her own Kingdom, in defence of her taking the States into her Protection. ² She in her Declaration sent to the King of *Spain*, Dec. 20. 1577. setteth forth the Reasons she had to defend her self and Dominions from Danger. And well might she be allarm'd, when the King of *Spain*, and other Popish Princes were so desperately resolv'd upon the Destruction of all those they called Hereticks; when (as she sets forth in another ³ Declaration 1589.) her Scepter, Diadem, Kingdom, Living and Life were greedily thirsted after by the *Spaniards*; and the *Spaniards* are therein challenged to deny (if they can) that they solicited many *English* Subjects to rebel, before she so much as thought of relieving her ancient Confederates by just and honest means.

⁴ She also alledgeth in a Declaration of her Causes, why she armed her Subjects into *France*, that she did it in behalf of the young King and his Mother, to defend them from illegal Violence as well as for the necessary Preservation of her own Kingdoms.

In the Year 1572. happen'd the Massacre at *Paris*. ⁵ The Protestants allarm'd fortified *Rochell*; all they could procure from *England* was the lending of a Summ of Money without Interest: *Langwiller* being sent to pray for Assistance, the Queen expressed her self displeased, that they had already drawn some of her Subjects to their Party, and without her leave hoisted up *English* Colours in their Ships. And to all the Instances and Motives brought by Men in that Distress from Religion, from the Honour and Benefit of her Kingdoms, and the common Interest of Protestants, she answered that she was sworn to a strict League of Friendship and Alliance with *France*; and could not think of breaking it on ⁶ so slight grounds. When the Count de *Rets* came Ambassador from *France*, the Queen resolv'd to give no Assistance

¹ Stow, p. 709. Thuan. Hist. Tom. 2. lib. 83. p. 78, 79.

² J. Meurs. Gul. Aur. lib. 10. p. 412. ³ Printed Lond. 1589. Declaration of Causes, which moved the chief Commanders of the Navy to arrest Ships of Corn prepared for the Services of the King of Spain.

⁴ Stow, p. 648. ⁵ L' Hist. de Fr. Tom. 2. p. 112, 121, 126, 131, 140, 151. ⁶ P. 159. Camb. Eliz. 1573. Thuan. lib. 55.

to the *French* Protestants; the Reason whereof was ^c the dangerous Example, which she should give to her own Subjects, and to others, if she should succour the *French* Rebels, to revolt upon the like or some other occasion against the Magistrate, whom God had ordained to be honoured and obeyed, as the Image of his own Authority and Power.

By these the Queen's express Words and Declarations it is evident, that what she did, was not done out of any design to help Subjects in rebelling against their Sovereign. Next, it will be as manifest that the Clergy were not for favouring any such Resistance, by what words they used when they gave the Supplies.

In the first Supply, they make mention of the Queen's Charges in reducing *Scotland* to Unity and Concord, in procuring the abating of all Hostility and Persecution in *France*, and in defending this Realm against Assaults of foreign Enemies.

In the second, That they grant it for withstanding foreign Invasion, and prevention of such Attempts as tended to the overthrow of the state of this Realm, to the extirpation of the sincere Profession of the Gospel here and elsewhere; and because the Malice of the Adversaries of God's Truth, sworn Enemies to her Majesty and the Prosperity of this Realm, did daily increase.

In the third, They own their lively sense of her Majesty's Courage and Constancy in protecting the free Profession of the Gospel within and without her Dominions, and of her Care to maintain Peace within her Kingdom. How the Queen protected the free Profession of the Gospel, has been seen before: she omitted no opportunity in her Treaties or Wars to protect the Protestants; but she never took up War in their Defence, unless the War were upon other Accounts justifiable.

^f Dr. *Bancroft* Bishop of *London*, when the last Subsidies were granted, condemns the Proceedings of the Parliament of *Scotland* 1560. three Years before the first Subsidy.

^e Dr. *Cosin* calls those Men Firebrands of Treason, who in case of Religion, by their Books, would arm inferiour Magistrates against their Sovereigns. ^h Dr. *Babington* consecrated Bishop of *Landaff* two Years before the second Subsidy,

^c L' Hist. de Fr. p. 159. ^f *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*, Book. 1. c. 3. p. 13. ^e *Answer to a Libel intitl'd, An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament, &c.* 1584. ^h *Notes on Numb.* c. 16: Part 2. p. 66. and Part 2. p. 65.

writes, that Magistrates are Men, and may do wrong, yet we must not revenge by Rebellion; *Saul* unjustly persecuted *David*, yet *David* would not hurt him, when he had opportunity. ⁱ Dr. *Fulk* says, that the Protestants, God be thanked, at this day and always are obedient even to wicked Princes to Death and Martyrdom.

By this it is manifest, that it was not the Opinion of the Clergy in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign either assembled in Convocation, or private, that Subjects might at any time resist their Prince.

I'll also clear the Case of King *Charles I's* relieving the *Rochellers* under *Lewis XIII.* by his ^k Declaration, which consisteth of three Particulars. 1. That the *English* Forces sent under Count *Mansfield* for the Recovery of the Palatinate were not suffered to land in *France*, whereas the *French* King had promised both a free Passage to them, and to join some Forces of his own with them. 2. The breach of the Articles concluded with the Protestants through the King's Mediation. 3. The great Injustice of seizing upon 120 *English* Ships in full Peace. It appears from the Duke of *Rohan's* Memoirs that King *Charles I.* pursued the same Methods with his Father, in maintaining a Peace, and mutual Confidence between the *French* King and his Protestant Subjects. But when a Treaty of Peace was by the *French* said to be concluded, the *French* King contrary to his own Promise and Intention of the King of *England*, employs some Ships against the *Rochellers*, which according to a Promise made by King *James*, King *Charles* was obliged to send him, and on this account ^f he found himself bound in Honour to intercede with the most Christian King for the Peace of the Town and of the Religion. ^m Besides after King *Charles* had used all peaceable means to persuade the *French* King not to persist in the Violation of the Articles, and sent a Fleet to *Rochell*, the Duke of *Buckingham* sent Sir *William Beecher* into the Town with a Letter under the King's own Hand, wherein he assured them of his Protection, ⁿ but so as that they might continue in their Fidelity and Subjection to their own King.

ⁱ Confutation of the Rhemish Notes on the N. T. 1589. on Rom. 13.

^k Rushworth's Collect. Part 1. p. 424. Vide Ed. Dom. Herbert, de Exped. in Ream Insulam, c. 1. & 2.

^f Rushworth. Duke of Buckingham's Plea, p. 386.

^m Memoires du Duc Rohan. Liv.

4. p. 278.

ⁿ P. 273.

Having given this Account of the *English* Princes and Clergy in the Case of Resistance, I'll observe the Opinion of the Protestants themselves beyond Sea.

* After the Massacre at *Vassy*, the Protestants propose this Case to their Ministers. "Whether it were lawful for them after so notorious a Violation of all Laws Divine and Human, as well as of express Edicts, to do themselves and the Kingdom Justice by Force of Arms, since there was no other means by which they could hope for it, and they would afterwards surrender themselves and submit to a legal Process.

The Ministers answered thus: "That they ought to expect what would be the Effect of the Queen's Promise in that behalf, and that rather than undertake such extraordinary Methods, they ought to suffer whatever it should please God to inflict, and to stand only upon their own Defence, when that should be necessary, but on no Terms to give the first rise to a Civil War, which always brings along with it infinite Miseries and Calamities. These poor Ministers were but small Proficients in the Doctrine of *Self-preservation*. Learned Mr. *Hoadley* and his Advocate would have taught them, had they lived in those Times, that *Self-preservation* is but half-way at *standing upon one's Defence*, and therefore must pass on to *opposing and resisting*; else it will ne'er be accounted glorious. But I'll return to those Protestants, in whom, what they wanted in Reverend *Hoadley* and his as Reverend Patron's Politicks, was made up by a greater Proficiency in the Doctrines of the Gospel; than they both can pretend to.

* Many of the Prince of *Conde's* Party forsook him, alleging it was unjust to bear Arms against the King, tho' he were mis-led by evil Counsellors, and were not at his own disposal: And tho' at a Synod of about 60 Ministers call'd at *Xaintes* by the Count of *Roche-foucault* it was determin'd, that the Arms they had taken up at the Queen's Command, against the Enemies of the King and Kingdom, and the Violators of the Edicts, were both just and necessary; yet *Bel-lavilla* a Nobleman of the first Rank and great Learning among them, was not satisfied with the Synod's Determination.

* A nameless Pamphlet being published, in which the Authority of the Prince and of Magistrates appointed by him

* L' Hist. de Fr. Liv. 8. p. 287.

* Thuan. lib. 30. p. 120.

* Lib. 34. p. 227.

was argued against from some distorted Interpretations of Scripture, was by the joint Consent of the Presbytery, and at the Command of *Sombiez* publicly burnt.

* Before the Attempt of surprizing the *Guises* at *Amboise*, to give the better Colour to it, a formal Process was secretly made, they were put upon their Trials, the most famous Civilians in *France* and *Germany* were consulted; and it was proposed to the Protestant Divines, whether they could with a safe Conscience, and without incurring the Guilt of High Treason, take up Arms in Defence of their Country, and bring the Duke and his Brother the Cardinal of *Guise* to an account for having usurped the Government; they answered, that they might oppose the unlawful Power of the *Guises*, provided they acted by the Authority of the Princes of the Blood, who in these Cases are by the Law and by their Birth-right constituted Magistrates, or at least by the Authority of one of them, and by the Consent of the Estates of the Kingdom, or of the greater and better part of them; and that it was superfluous to advise the King of it, who by reason of his Age, and for want of Experience could not manage his own Affairs, and was little better than a Captive to the *Guises*, so that there was no room left for the ordinary course of Justice. * And yet notwithstanding this no Man could be more against it than *Calvin*, who used all his Authority and Interest to prevent it; * and the Attempt was carried on by *Renandy* a Papist, but discovered by *Avanelles* a Protestant.

* The Protestants of *Normandy* in a Petition presented to *Francis II.* by the Admiral *Chastillon* in the Assembly at *Fontainebleau*, in behalf of themselves no fewer than 50000, and others dispersed in the Kingdom, recognize him for their Prince and Sovereign Lord, given them by God for their Governour, and profess themselves by consequence his loyal and good Subjects, ready to bear all Subsidies and Charges, which it should please his Majesty to impose on them, if the ordinary ones were not sufficient; for that the Holy Scriptures command them to bear the Yoke of their Princes in all Subjection and Obedience. * And the Bishop of *Valence* in his Speech to the King in this Assembly confesses, that tho' there were some who made Religion a Cloak

* Lib. 24. p. 732.

† Calvin. Epist. & Respons. Epist. ad Bullinger. p. 229. & ad Blaurer. p. 230. Blondel. modeste Declar. &c. p. 327. Jesuit. Vapul. cap. 13. §. 12.

* Thuan. lib. 24. p. 739.

746.

* L' Hist. de Fr. lib. 6. p. 192.

* P. 199.

for Rebellion, yet others, who professed the Reformed Religion, retained it with that Fear of God, and that Reverence for the King's Majesty, that they would upon no account offend him.

* In a Petition to *Charles IX.* in the Name of the Protestants, they say, it would be easie to judge, that they could never be seditious, who governed themselves in all things according to God's Word, upon which the Authority of Kings is founded.

† In the Year 1567 the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral *Coligny*, having given the Protestants two Meetings, and heard their renewed Complaints of all their Grievances and Oppressions, still answer'd, That they must endure any thing rather than take up Arms again; that a second Disturbance would make them become an Horror to all *France*, and a particular Object of Hatred to the King, in whose Mind it would make so deep an impression of Prejudice against them in his Youth, as nothing hereafter would be able to blot out.

‡ The King of *Navarr*, after the highest Provocations and Indignities, and the large Proposals of the King of *Spain*, refused absolutely to engage himself and the Protestant *French* Party in a new Civil War, professing he could not in Conscience do it, being contrary to his Duty, and that Allegiance which all Subjects owe to their King.

* Many Protestants of *Dauphine* and Provinces adjacent, after the Massacre at *Paris*, could not be persuaded to defend themselves against the King's Forces in their greatest Distress, professing that nothing but their Consciences was exempt from the Prince's Power, which ought not, nor could be defended by Arms; that the Example of the Primitive Church shew'd this sufficiently, in which not so much as one Christian attempted to maintain that which is of a spiritual Nature, the defence whereof belongs only to God, by weak and human Means, which belong solely to the Magistrate.

† *Du Moulin*, Minister at *Fontenay*, during the Siege of *Fontenay*, being taken and brought before the Duke of *Montpensier*, affirmed that he had no hand in any thing, and that the whole blame must lie upon the Nobility, who concerted all Matters between themselves, and would communicate none of the Affairs of State or War to the Ministers.

* P. 283. † Mezeray. p. 696. ‡ Goldast. Monarch. Rom. Imp. Tom. 3. p. 202. Vide David. Owen Anti-Paræ. p. 32.

† L' Hist. de Fr. Tom. 2. Liv. 32. p. 122. ‡ Liv. 39. p. 253.

* The late Dr. *Du Moulin* has only this to say for their taking Arms after that Massacre: That the Relicks of that Party after that general Execution, took up defensive Arms, as it is not to be commended, it is not to be wonder'd at neither; Men are not Angels, and there is nothing more natural than to strive for Life.

^d The judgment of Mr. *Amyrant* is so full in this particular, that I think fit here to give it at length. I will not pretend to vindicate the taking up Arms by Subjects against their Prince, upon any account whatsoever; I know there have been some Civilians and Politicians, some Divines and Casuists [*and he calls them not Viri graves & boni*] who have handled this question so, as either to leave it undecided, or to favour them too much, who would limit the Authority of Kings. But although most Men of all Professions think the defence of that, which a Man believes to be true Religion, and of liberty of Conscience in the Profession of it, to be the least unlawful of all the Causes which can be alledged for the justification of such an Action; I have always thought notwithstanding, that it is much more agreeable to the Nature of the Gospel and the Practice of the Primitive Church, to have recourse to no other Arms but to Patience, to Tears and Prayers, in expectation that God will be pleased to change the Hearts of Kings, and by some other way to grant Ease and Liberty to his Servants. And as often as I recollect in my Mind the History of our Forefathers, I can't but be mightily concern'd, that they have not crown'd all their other excellent Virtues, of which they have left us Examples, by imitating the Primitive Christians in their invincible Patience, under the Persecution of the Emperors. For so they would have taken away all occasion from those, who are industrious to defame our Profession, and had, in my Opinion, with more Glory advanced the knowledge of the Truth, by their admirable Virtue and Constancy, than they have with disadvantage defended it by Force of Arms. But though in my judgment their Practice herein is not such as deserves Praise, for we praise only those Actions which are eminent for Virtue, though it be not absolutely to be justified, for we justify only those which are strictly lawful; whereas this is not exactly agreeable to the commands of the Gospel; yet thus much I assure my self, I can maintain, that

* *Vindication of the Sincerity of Christian Religion in the Point of Obedience to Sovereigns*, p. 31.

^d *Apologie pour ceux de la Religion*, &c. §. 2. p. 75.

if any thing of that nature may be excused, or defended, or graciously pardoned, it is this which our Ancestors did in that Juncture.

* *Du Moulin*, President of the National Synod of *Alais*, wrote a Letter to the Assembly at *Rochel*, wherein he persuades them to separate and obey the King's demands, and assures them that the greatest and best part of their Churches wished for their separation. † The Duke of *Rohan* casteth the first rise of those Troubles upon the *Sieur de Favas*. * And whereas some were dissatisfied with the Government of the Queen Mother, he in a Discourse written four Years before says, that her Government in 20 Years could not do so much mischief as a Civil War in 10 Days; and that the French ought at last to beware of the Contagion of such Reformers, and to remember that there never yet had been a War in *France*, under the pretence of the Publick Good, but it was designed for the particular Interest of the first Contrivers of it. † The *Sieur L'Ormegegny* says, That in the Assembly of *Rochel* they acted most imprudently, and contrary to their Duty to God and the King, in resolving to hold Places by force. And that three Fourths of his Subjects of the Reformed Religion kept in their Obedience. He relates, that at the most obstinate Siege of *Montauban*; when the King passed before the Walls in the greatest heat of Action, the besieged left off playing their Guns, and cried with a mighty Shout, *God save the King*. [For they knew as well as the Bishops of * *Salum* and † *Oxford*, that the Person of the King ought always to be sacred and inviolable, or in other words, you may do any thing with him but kill him.]

‡ Mr. *Amyrant* saith, That at the Siege of *Rochel* and of *Montauban* several Protestants were in the King's Army, believing that it belonged to God Almighty to protect his Church, and not to them.

* The Protestants in their submissions to *Lewis XIII.* 1625. *Nov.* 21. and 1626. *Febr.* 6. confess themselves guilty of Rebellion; and though the Privileges of *Rochel* had been violated, and nothing could be expected but Ruine, and ex-

* *Du Moulin*, *the Son's Vindication of the Sincerity*, &c. p. 38.

† Apologie du D. de Roh. sur les derniers troubles de la France a cause de la Relig. p. 92, 93. *Memoires* Edit. 2. 1646.

* Discours sur le Gouvernement de la Reyne Mere, p. 55.

† *Reflection upon the fifth Chapter of the Politic. of Fr.* p. 78, 87, 88.

* *Speech*, p. 8, 9.

† P. 5, 6.

‡ Apolog. pour ceux de la Relig. Sect. 2. p. 110.

* *Dupleix Hist. de Louis le juste*, p. 402.

treem Necessity had forced them to their own Preservation, yet this could not justify them; for they could not without Execration mention the taking up of Arms by Subjects against their Prince, upon any Pretence whatsoever. [The Protestants before went an even pace with the Bishops, but now they have got the start of them; for their Lordships and Mr. *Hoadley* can't leap over the Bar of *extreme Necessity*.]

¹ In the beginning of, and during that War, all the Protestants were not unanimous; for the Ministers of some Provinces preached against the Proceedings of the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubiez*; ^m and the four Ministers of *Charenton* declare it Rebellion, and that Subjects ought with their Lives and Fortunes to defend the King's Right, which God has given him, and is founded on his Word. ⁿ *Grammond* gives an account of Cities and whole Provinces, that continued in their Obedience to the King. ^o In the *French Mercury*, we have the Declaration of several Places, containing a Profession of their utmost Fidelity to the King, and an Abhorrence of the Duke of *Rohan's* Proceedings. And the *French King* in his Edict of Peace 1626. April 6. declares, That the better and greater part of his Protestant Subjects had continued in their Obedience.

I have shewed the general sense the Protestants had of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance; and how careful they were to clear themselves from the least shadow of Rebellion. Which will still more fully be made out, if we consider, what ground even these Protestants, who were censured by the best part of their Brethren, justified their Proceedings by.

^p A Law had been by the three Estates established at *Tours* An. 1484. that when the Crown fell to a Minor, the Estates should appoint Council to the King, that every thing might be done in his Name and by his Authority, but with the Advice of his Council, in the choice whereof the Princes of the Blood ought to be preferr'd, and Strangers excluded.

An. 1557. in *October* was published a Book to prove, that by the *Salique* Law a Woman was incapable of Regency as of Succession, and that by a Decree of the Estates the Government belonged to the Princes of the Blood during the

|| *Speech*, p. 15. and p. 13.

¹ *Mercur. Fr.* Tom. 11. An. 1625. p. 222. An. 1626. p. 121, 128.

^m Tom. 13. p. 782.

ⁿ *Hist. Gall. &c.* lib. 17. p. 738.

^o Tom. 14. p. 360. &c.

^p *Thuan.* lib. 23. p. 693, 694.

Hist. de Fr. Tom. 1. liv. 6. p. 153.

King's Minority. *Charles VI.* was a Minor till 22, and it was reckon'd a great Favour and Privilege, that he was admitted to act before 25. ^a 'Twas urged the Cardinal of *Lorraine* by the Laws of the Realm could not be in the Administration, because by his Character addicted too much to the Pope's Interest. Besides the House of *Guise* pretended a Right to the Crown by Descent from *Charles* the Great; and they had afforded grounds of Jealousies by boasting now of their Descent, that they might, after so many Ages, dispossess the Race of *Hugh Capet*.

^r That Book was answered by *John Tillet*, Protonotary in the Parliament of *Paris*, who undertook to prove that the Minority of the *French* Kings extends not beyond the 15th Year. To which was replied, that the Municipal Laws, which he produced, concerned not the Succession to the Throne, but to private Estates. ^t The Book was much censur'd, but afterwards enroll'd among the King's Edicts, under *Charles* the Ninth, ^u who was declared to be of Age at Fourteen, according to a Constitution of *Charles V.* made *An.* 1373. now renewed, and the next Year proclaimed in an Assembly of all the Estates.

However the Protestants justified themselves upon the King's Minority, and because the *Guises* could have no Authority by the Laws of the Land: ^v And when *Tillet* urged that that Religion could not be from God, which allow'd Subjects to take up Arms, they replied that they did it not against the King or Kingdom, but in defence of both. ^w And they represented to the Q. Mother, that they had no Design against the King at *Amboise*, nor against her Majesty, nor against the Princes of the Blood; but only to defend themselves from those, who would not suffer them to make their Complaints known to the King; and that, if they had intended any thing farther, they had been inexcusable; that they detest any such Attempt as pernicious, since neither Human nor Divine Laws permit Subjects to represent their Grievances with Arms in their Hands, but only in a dutiful and humble manner.

^x The Prince of *Conde* in his Declaration, and several Letters to the Emperor and Princes of *Germany*, protests that he took Arms only to deliver the King and his Kingdom from the Duke of *Guise*, the Constable, and the Marechal de *St. An-*

^a Thuan. lib. 23. p. 695. ^r P. 696. ^t P. 697. ^u Thuan. lib. 35. p. 248. ^v Hist. de Fr. Liv. 6. Tom. 1. p. 157, 159. ^w P. 180. ^x P. 300.

drè; and acquaints the Emperor in a Letter dated at *Orleans* 1562. *Apr.* 20. with the Particulars of their Conspiracy, and seizing the King's Person, the Q. Mother, and the D. of *Orleans* at *Fontainebleau*. ^y The *Guises* publish, and cause to be registred, a Letter in the King's Name; and a Declaration was sent to the Emperor sign'd by the King and the Q. Mother; both to this Effect, that the Report of the King's Restraint was false, and a mere Contrivance of the Prince of *Conde*. ^z But the Admiral in his Letter to the Emperor says it was extorted from them; ^a and the Prince of *Conde* by a Message puts the Queen in mind, that he had her Command, and Letters under her own Hand to produce, for what he d. d. When they were in Arms, she sent to the Prince and other Lords, not to lay down their Arms, till the *Guises* had first laid down theirs. These Letters he sent to the Princes of *Germany*; and ^b they were produced by the Bishop of *Nevers* at the Diet of *Frankfort*.

^c The Q. Mother seemed to favour the Protestant Party, and was suspected at Court and at *Rome* of being inclinable to change her Religion; ^d and she in a Conference with the Prince of *Conde* and Lords of that Party thanked them for their Service, professing that she and the King owed their Lives to them, and exhorting them to go on as they had begun for the good of the Kingdom.

In the Year 1563. a Peace is concluded; the Forces of both Protestants and Papists united besiege *Havre de Grace*, then in the Possession of the *English*; ^e the King in his Edict declares the Prince of *Conde* and all his Adherents *faithful and loyal Subjects, as having done nothing but with a good Intention, and for his Majesty's Service*; and is the same Year declared to be of Age.

After the Year 1572. when the bloody Massacre at *Paris* was executed; a Peace was no sooner made in 1573. but again broken in 1574. when the Duke of *Alencon* begun another War, and drew the *Hugonots* to his Party, promising them Protection.

^f Bishop *Bilson* (of whom, for his too loose Principles of Government, ^g K. *Charles I.* testifies, that his Father had that Opinion of him, that he shew'd him some Favour in hope of his Recantation) gives his Judgment of the Civil Wars in *France* thus. "The King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of

^y P. 302. ^z Liv. 9. p. 353. ^a Thuan. lib. 30. p. 313. ^b Mezeray, chap. ix. p. 680. ^c P. 686. Thuan. lib. 29. p. 93. ^d Thuan. lib. 30. p. 99. ^e Histoire d'Aubigne liv. 3. cap. ult. Tom. I. r. 194. ^f True difference between Christian Submission and unchristian Rebellion, 1516. Part 3. p. 281. ^g Reply to Henderson's second Paper.

“ *Conde* might lawfully defend themselves from Injustice
 “ and Violence, and be aided by other Princes their Neigh-
 “ bours, if the King as too mighty for them, sought to oppress
 “ them ; to whom they owe not simple Subjection, but re-
 “ spective Homage, as *Scotland* did to *England*, and *Norman-*
 “ *dy* to *France*, when the Kings notwithstanding had bitter
 “ Wars each with other. The rest of the Nobles, that did
 “ assist them, if it were the King’s Act that did oppress them
 “ and not the *Guises*, except the Laws do permit them means
 “ to save the State from open Tyranny, I will not excuse ;
 “ and yet the Circumstances must be fully known, before
 “ the Fact can be rightly discerned, with which I confess I
 “ am not so exactly acquainted.

^b Bishop *Burnet* observes, that these Wars could not be cal-
 led Rebellion [tho’ some of the Protestants themselves thought
 it was, as has been seen before] since the Protestants had
 the Law and the first Prince of the Blood on their side, to
 whom the Government (in the King’s Minority) did of
 Right belong.

By all this may be gathered that the Protestants, which
 took up Arms, had much more plausible Reasons for Resi-
 stance, than most Rebels, who catch at any opportunity to
 break through the Rules of Submission.

I shall now proceed to see what Judgment has been passed
 upon the *Scotch* Proceedings ; and first premise the ⁱ Words of
 K. *James I.*

“ The Reformation of Religion in *Scotland* being extraordi-
 “ narily wrought by God, wherein many things were inor-
 “ dinately done by a popular Tumult, and Rebellion of such
 “ as blindly were doing the Work of God, but clogged with
 “ their own Passions and particular Respects, as well ap-
 “ pear’d by the Destruction of our Policy, and not proceeding
 “ from the Prince’s Order, as it did in our Neighbour-Coun-
 “ try of *England*, as likewise in *Denmark*, and sundry parts
 “ of *Germany* : some fiery-spirited Men [or in the modern
 “ *Dialect*, *Moderate*] in the Ministry got such a guiding of
 “ the People at that time of Confusion, as finding the gust
 “ of Government sweet, they begouth to fantasie to them-
 “ selves a Democrattick Form of Government ; and having,
 “ by the Iniquity of time, been over-well baited upon the
 “ wrack first of my Grandmother, and next of my own Mo-
 “ ther, and after usurping the liberty of the time in my long
 “ Minority, settled themselves so fast upon that imagined

^b *Reform.* Part 2. p. 416.

ⁱ K. *James's Works*, p. 160.

“ Democracy, as they fed themselves with the hope to be-
 “ come *Tribuni Plebis* : And so in a Popular Government by
 “ leading the People by the Nose, to bear the Sway of all
 the Rule. This King's dislike of Bishop *Bilson*, may be,
 was grounded on his too favourable Judgment of the Pro-
 ceedings against his Mother.

The Lords debating whether they might remove the Queen
 Regent from her Government, *Willock* and *Knox* were con-
 sulted, and agreed she might be deprived, with this Cau-
 tion added by *Knox*, that they should still retain their Obe-
 dience to, and restore her, when she should change her
 course, and submit her self to good Counsel. * Yet Arch-
 bishop *Spotswood* says, that this their Opinion was neither sound
 in it self, nor had any Warrant in the Word of God : For
 howbeit the Power of the Magistrates be limited and their Of-
 fice prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into
 great Offences, yet it is no where permitted to Subjects to
 call their Princes in question, or to make Insurrection against
 them, God having reserved the Punishment of Princes to
 himself.

¹ *Rivet* says, that the Tenets of *Goodman*, *Knox* and *Buchanan*,
 tho' not so bad as those of the Jesuites, yet were approved of
 by none of the French Church. ^m *Blondel* justifies the Prote-
 stants Proceedings in *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *France*,
 but as for *Scotland*, he gives up the Cause, and looks on their
 Pretences as ill grounded ; that those who defend them, give
 an excessive Power to the Estates of that Kingdom, and are
 constrained to pass the Seas to bring over the *Salique* Law thi-
 ther ; and that tho' the Christian World, upon the forced Re-
 signation, and deplorable hard Usage of that Queen did give
 her Son the Title of King, and *K. James* accordingly dated his
 Reign all along from that time, yet he is far from thinking
 it a fit Case to be made a Precedent of.

ⁿ The Protestants abroad have been so far from defending
Knox, *Goodman* and *Buchanan*, that *Blondel* takes the Pains to
 free *Calvin* and *Beza* from the slander raised against them on-
 ly for some ordinary Civilities, or a small Correspondence
 with them by one or two Letters upon other Subjects, no way
 relating to Government. [And may not a loyal Church-man
 be liable to blame, if he should court the Friendship and
 Acquaintance of those, who now defend those Men's Prin-
 ciples ?].

^k Hist. l. 3. p. 137.

¹ Jesuit. Vapul. c. 13. §. 14.

^m Modeste declarat. de la sincer. &c. p. 213, 216.

ⁿ P. 295.

^o *Goodman*

* *Goodman* in his life-time *disliked* and *corrected*, and ^p *Buchanan* upon his Death-bed repented of those Opinions.

* Bishop *Burnet* calls the Insurrection against the Queen Mother *open Rebellion*; and has proved in his *first Conference* that the Kings of *Scotland* are irresistible by the Constitution of that Kingdom. And he has also lately in Speech and Sermon taught us, that the Kings of *England* are far enough from having that Privilege. Therefore I beg leave to put this Case to his Lordship, intreating him to resolve it without any Reserves or Views, too mysterious for vulgar Understandings; whether and how far the Prince of two united Crowns and Kingdoms is *resistible*, when before such an Union the Prince of one Kingdom was, and that of the other was not.

In the last place I'll consider how the Constitution of the *Netherlands* is different from ours: and how they have an express Law to warrant them in their Resistance: And the Enjoyment of some Privileges in one Country can't excuse the Resistance of Subjects in another upon the Violation of those Privileges, which they don't enjoy.

* *Luther* wrote a Book against *Resistance*, and would never consent to it, till he was informed 'twas positively allow'd by the Laws of the Empire.

* Bishop *Bilson* thus expostulates with the Papists, in defence of *Luther*, and the Protestant Princes. " They were Magistrates and bare the Sword in their own Dominions; you are private Men, and want lawful Authority to use the Sword, &c. The *German* Emperor is elected, and his Power abated by the Prerogatives of his Princes that owe not many Services, and those Conditional. The Queen of *England* inheriteth, and hath one and the same *Right* over all her Subjects, be they Nobles or others. [Here Bishop *Bilson* is for *Hereditary Right*, and I wonder his admirer, the Bishop of *Sarum*, can forgive him, and ever after that vouch or rely on his Authority.] " And after mention made of *Spanish* Inquisitions and *French* Massacres, which are able to make grave and good Men [*graves & boni*, such as a Dean means] justly doubt, whether by the Law of Nature they may not defend themselves against such barbarous Blood-suckers, adds these words, " If the Laws of the Land, where they converse, do not permit them to guard their Lives, when as-

* *Bilson's* *Christ. Subj.* p. 516.

^p *Cambden. Eliz. An.* 1567.

* *Reform. Part. 2.* p. 410.

* *Sleid. Comment. lib. 8.* sub initio.

* *The true difference between subjection, &c. Part 3.* p. 518.

" faulted

“ faulted with unjust Force against Law, or, if they take
 “ Arms, as you do, to depose Princes, we will never excuse
 “ them from Rebellion.

Those Nations, who claim this Power of Resistance, upon the violation of their Privileges, have commonly taken Care to have it particularly expressed.

* Thus the Emperor *Jodocus*, *An.* 1410. at his Sanction grants full Authority to the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire to resist him and his Successors, if any of them should from thenceforth retract, oppose, or any way infringe that his Constitution and Establishment of their Privileges, * without the least imputation of Rebellion or Infidelity.

* Thus (as *Goldastus* observes in the Margin) was the Decree of *Andrew* the Second, King of *Hungary*, *An.* 1222. to which all the Kings of *Hungary*, before their Coronation, are sworn. And this the Protestants of *Hungary*, *An.* 1604. produced for their justification in their Letters to the States of *Bohemia*, *Silesia* and *Moravia*, after the greatest Oppressions and Barbarities for thirteen Years; which Decree was then just upon the Point of being repealed.

* The Oath of the Duke of *Anjou*, afterward *Henry III.* King of *France*, which he at his being elected King of *Poland*, took to maintain their Privileges, concludes thus; “ And if
 “ I break my Oath (which God forbid) the Inhabitants of
 “ the Kingdom shall be obliged to pay me no Obedience.

* When the Kingdom of *Arragon* ceased to be Elective, the Peoples Liberties were anew confirmed by the *Law of Union*, in which there were two Articles, to empower the States, if the King should violate the Laws, to set up another, without becoming guilty of Treason; and to enter into Confederacies with their neighbour Princes for the conservation of their Liberties.

If such a Power has not at first been stipulated for in express terms, it hardly fails of being declared upon particular Emergencies, as when at any time after some Disturbance or Interruption the Government comes to be resettled. * Thus when *Philip IV.* King of *Spain* was dispossessed of *Portugal*, and

* *Goldast. Constit. Imper. Tom. 3. p. 424.*

added because of the deposition of *Wenceslaus*, whose Uncle *Jodocus* was. The marginal Note of *Goldastus*.

p. 1169.

* *Bodin. de Rep. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

lib. 104. p. 261.

* *Thuan. lib. 133.*
 * *Thuan. lib. qui inscribitur, Joannes IV. Serenissimus Portugalliae Rex justè consalutatus ab eodem regno suo, &c. Authore Francisco Velasco Goveano.*

King *John IV.* was declared rightful King by the Estates of that Kingdom, they declare at the same time, that it is in the Power of the Estates of *Portugal* to depose the King for Male-administration.

² The Bishop of *Salisbury* observes of the *Low-Countries*, that by the terms of the *Lætus Introitus* agreed to by the King of *Spain*, when received by the States of the *Netherlands* for their Prince, they were disengaged from their Obedience, when he had broke the Conditions of it. ^a This particular Privilege is insisted on by the Prince of *Orange*, in his Answer to the Commission for apprehending him, in his justification of himself, and in ^b his Apology against the King of *Spain's* Proscription; ^c as also by the States themselves in their Edict: And Queen *Elizabeth* in her Declaration of her Causes for assisting them, ^d given at *Richmond* Oct. 1. 1585. mentions, that by the ancient Laws and Privileges of their Countries they pretend to affirm, that upon violent breaking of those Privileges they are free from their former Homages, and at liberty to choose any other for their Prince; and that by some such alterations, as Stories do testify, *Philip* the Duke of *Burgundy* came by his Title; from which the King of *Spain's* interest is derived, &c.

From the foregoing Account, this Consequence will naturally and undeniably follow, that every *Resistance* of Subjects against their Sovereign was always in those Times accounted *Rebellion*, where the Power of *Resistance* was not particularly expressed in the voluntary *Concessions* of Princes, or in the *Original Constitution*.

The Reasons of this Consequence are also undeniable from Matter of Fact, viz. 1. Because the Assistance then granted by our Government to resisting Subjects, was declared to be given for the securing of this Realm from the incroachments of those Sovereigns, against whom their Subjects rebelled.

2. Because the Princes thus assisting took the greatest Care imaginable to express their Hatred and Abhorrence of those Subjects Resistance.

² Reform. Part. 2. p. 416. La grande Chronique Ancienne & Moderne de Hollande, &c. par Jean Franc. le Petir. Tom. 2. liv. 10. p. 193, 194. Meroran. Histor. Belgic. lib. 2. p. 33, 34. Grot. de Antiq. Reip. Batav. p. 36.

^a La grande Chronique, &c. liv. 10. p. 171, 176.

^b Apologia Willelm. Prin. Aur. ad proscriptionem, &c. apud Carol. Sylv. Typog. Ordin. Holl. 1631. p. 57, 59, 74.

^c Grand. Chron. liv. 13. p. 429.

² Printed at Lond. 1585. p. 89.

3. Because those Princes forbore their Assistance, whenever the Reason of securing their Kingdom ceased, tho' the Subjects, whom they had assisted, were still oppressed by, and still continued to resist their Sovereign.

4. Because the greater part of those Subjects did not resist, but rather condemned, what was done by the rest.

5. Because those Subjects, which resisted, gave this colour to their Resistance, that they did not take up Arms against, but for their Prince, to free and preserve him from his private Enemies and evil Counsellors.

6. Because the Case of the *Scots* generally, and by most even Protestants was, and that of the *Netherlands* was not, looked upon as Rebellion; the Princes of the first being irresistible and those of the last resistible, by the Constitution of those respective Countries.

Therefore, till I am shewed a Law, which expressly giveth Authority whereby, and points out as expressly when an *English* Subject may resist; and an Instrument, whereby the Sovereign at his Accession to the Throne not only binds himself to govern by Law, but besides granteth a Liberty to his Subjects to resist, in case he should not; I shall look upon my self bound never to resist, upon no Pretence whatsoever; I shall pay an Active Obedience, as far as the Word of God and the Laws of the Land allow it; and where I can't act without violating either, I then shall, still in submission to God and the Laws, which allow me not to resist, pay a Passive one.

I begun with the *Church man*, I end with the *Subject*, having shew'd the *Truth* of the one in opposition to *Hypocrisy*, and the *Loyalty* of the other in opposition to *Faction*. As no *Church-man* can be a *true* one, but who is also a *Loyal Subject*; so a *Subject* is ever the more *Loyal* for being a *True Church-man*; and whoever closely uniteth these two Characters in his Life, practiseth best the Apostle's Rule, which I prefixed to the front of this Discourse, and shall now conclude it with,

Fear God, Honour the King.

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Some of the most considerable ERRATA are to be corrected; and some things altered and inserted, as follows,

IN the Contents, Page 8. l. 9. for opinion read opinion of.

Page 2. line 7. for to which read to some of which. Ibid. l. 14. f. obedience r. rules. p. 6. l. 20. f. Divine r. Divines. p. 12. l. 15. f. $\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$ r. $\chi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$. p. 17. l. 21. f. our r. of our. p. 20. l. 27. f. as r. a. p. 21. l. penult. f. Ecclesiâ tua r. Ecclesiâ tuâ. p. 22. l. 13. f. refers r. refer. p. 29. l. 8. f. he r. be. ibid. l. 21. f. stidter r. stridter. p. 41. l. 4. f. till it be measured quite away r. and we know some things are not measured but in order to be cut. p. 49. l. 17. f. wtih r. with. p. 57. l. 31. f. I know r. I know not. p. 59. l. 4. f. of r. or. p. 75. l. 15. f. horam r. horum. p. 99. l. 26. f. is r. are. p. 107. l. 37. dele long. p. 117. l. 8. f. Art, r. Art. p. 118. l. 16. f. obtained r. they obtained. Ibid. l. 24. f. Diocess r. Diocese. p. 119. l. 29. f. that r. that time. p. 123. l. 33. f. provides r. he provided. p. 131. l. 12. f. it r. by it. Ibid. l. 19. f. relate r. relates. p. 134. l. 3. f. laid r. were laid. p. 138. l. 36. after boni add, quique non multam in tuendis Regum juri-bus, minimam in reprimenda populi licentiâ operam posuere. Conc. ad Cler. 1709. pag. 41. p. 141. l. 38. f. annum r. annuum. p. 143. l. 28. f. Hircanus r. Hyrcanus. p. 155. l. 27. f. Hoadley r. Hoadley's. p. 165. l. 17. f. And r. And how. p. 168. l. 21 and 22. you may read thus, I shall look upon my self bound never to resist upon any pretence whatsoever.



